Published
Monthly by the
NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL
LEAGUE
Volume XXII, No. 10
TOTAL NO. 208

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The first three articles in this issue are part of the radio series on constructive economy in government being sponsored by the Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy of the National Municipal League.

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The contents of the National Municipal Review are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

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THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

THE annual National Conference on Government is to be held at the Hotel Haddon Hall, Atlantic City, New Jersey, November 9, 10, and 11. Recognizing the importance of this gathering under the present conditions of civic stress, the general topic chosen for the Conference is: "The Part of Local Government in Recovery," and special invitations have been sent to the governors of all states, mayors of leading cities, executives of chambers of commerce, of commercial and civic institutions, and others directly interested in the perplexing problems of present-day government.

Among the subjects to be covered at the Conference are:

Government Control of Liquor
The Relief Problem This Winter
Constructive Versus Destructive Economy
Improving Municipal Credit
Anticipating and Meeting Emergencies in Local Government
The Recovery Program

The Conference will bring together public officials, citizen groups, and governmental experts from throughout the country for consideration of the fundamental problems facing government today.

Participating organizations are the National Association of Civic Secretaries, Proportional Representation League, Governmental Research Association, National Municipal League, and National Conference of Citizens' Councils.

Members of the National Municipal League and all other delegates are entitled to special hotel rates and substantially reduced transportation on the leading railroads. A complete program together with railroad certificates and other information will be mailed to members of the League and coöperating groups within a few days. For reservations, railroad certificates, or for any other information, write to the National Municipal League, 309 East 34 Street, New York City.

* * *

Nomination of Officers for 1934.—The Committee on Nominations has proposed the following officers for 1934, subject to election at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League during the thirty-ninth annual convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on November 9, 10, and 11:

President, Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati; *First Vice-President,* H. W. Dodds, Princeton; *Second Vice-President,* Miss Belle Sherwin, Washington, D. C.; *Honorary Vice-Presidents,* Henry J. Allen, Wichita; Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Connecticut; H. L. Brittain, Toronto; Henry Bruere, New York; Harry F. Byrd, Winchester, Virginia; Frederic A. Delano, Washington, D. C.; Samuel S. Fels, Philadelphia; Russell Forbes, New York; John M. Gries, Washington, D. C.; A. R. Hatton, Evanston; John R. Haynes, Los Angeles; Frank O. Lowden, Oregon, Illinois; C. E. Merriam, Chicago; W. B. Munro, Pasadena; Frank L. Polk, New York; Thomas H. Reed, Ann Arbor; Chester H. Rowell, Berkeley; Mrs. F. Louis Slade, New York; A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh. *Council,* Louis Brownlow, Chicago; Louis I. Dublin, New York; Joseph P. Harris, Seattle; Louis P. Head, Dallas; David Hinshaw, Westtown, Pennsylvania; Frank Morse, New York; William E. Mosher, Syracuse; William B. Moulton, Chicago; Laurence A. Tanzer, New York; John G. Winant, Concord, New Hampshire.

The Committee on Nominations has the following personnel: Thomas H. Reed, Ann Arbor, *chairman;* H. S. Buttenheim, New York; A. R. Hatton, Evanston; Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis; and Lawson Purdy, New York.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary.*

Editorial Comment
October

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Vol. XXII, No. 10 Total No. 208

The Part of Local Government in Recovery

EARLY next month the National Municipal League holds its annual Conference on Government. Never in our history has a gathering bearing this title been so desperately needed, and never before has there been such an opportunity for this Conference to influence the course of events. It comes in the midst of the bitterest fight for existence that local self-government in America ever has faced, and just in time to speak the words that can weld into some kind of reasoned order the onrush of excited citizens who, in a thousand divergent organizations and movements, are hurrying to the rescue of our institutions. Finally, it comes as American states and communities face the appalling task of reorganizing themselves to deal adequately with the problem of liquor control.

The Conference program is outlined elsewhere in this issue. It is conceived to deal with the crises that are uppermost in men's minds. It offers opportunity for discussion and for authoritative pronouncement on the vexed questions of defaulting municipalities, tax delinquency, municipal credit, on the rights and wrongs of the public works program as an aid to recovery. Especially significant is the part allotted to the Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy. They bring the voice of the people to these deliberations in a way that has never been heard before. Organized for many purposes and under many different names throughout the country, they may be expected to inject a needed note of practical public viewpoint into the expert discussions of governmental problems, and they can take the results directly to the people.

How great an influence the Conference can exert depends on the size and representative character of the gathering. Realizing this, the National Municipal League is asking every civic and governmental agency in this country to send a delegate to this Conference. To members of the League, this request is particularly urgent. Membership is more than a matter of dues and of reading reports. There are times when active participation in the work is essential, if the League is to maintain the service of public leadership for which it is being supported. Now, if ever, is such a time.

Towards Understanding

In spite of rain, vacation time, and NRA, which have had the major claim to public attention in the last two months, the "Pay Your Taxes" campaign is augmenting and gathering momentum. The idea of a nation-wide drive against tax delinquency is penetrating business and industry clear to the man on the street. In various newspapers, arresting "Pay Your Taxes" advertisements are appearing, sponsored not by the tax gathering powers but by banks and by leading industrial institutions. They recall the days of Liberty Loan drives. Telephone, radio, screen appeals in motion picture houses, volunteer house to house campaigns by the unemployed—and by civic employees anxious to avoid this status—all are parts of this unique public movement. More than that, the New York Bureau of Municipal Information reports "sermons given in churches about the Restoration of Faith in Local Government." Surely we have travelled far since the drinking song of Robert Burns' day, "The De'il Fly Away with the Exciseman." It must be a relief to one invaluable but sorely tried branch of our public service to feel that the Lord is on the side of the tax collector at last!

Even a depression has its positive side. If the straits of our cities result in a better public understanding of the need and nature of taxation, and a more tolerant attitude toward the tax gatherer, something will have been gained after all. Perhaps it has required the present menace to all that is best (as well as all that is worst) in our institutions of public service to make the taxpayer understand his responsibility for the tone of his government, whatever that tone may be. At any rate the "Pay Your Taxes" campaign is actually beginning to take the public fancy. This is an achievement in itself. Who ever dreamed that a time could come when paying your taxes would appeal to the imagination?

* * *

Adopt the Manager Plan

For many months taxpayers the country over have been storming city halls and county courthouses insisting upon reduction of governmental expenditures. In many instances they have been willing to sacrifice schools, libraries, public health service, recreational centers, and others of the important social and cultural services of government in the mad scramble for lower tax bills. Article after article in the National Municipal Review and other publications has dealt with the problem of curtailing budgets without abandoning essential services. In brief the solution lies through the elimination of waste in administration. And some 450 cities have found the way by adoption of the city manager plan. Yet there are still several thousand municipalities in this country operating under inefficient, archaic forms of government which have weaknesses inherent in their very structure.

Citizens who would tackle the problem of reducing taxes need to appreciate the necessity for clear courageous thinking. Ancient fallacies of democratic dogma traditional to American everyday expression must be discarded. Political camouflage must be seen through. Smooth phrases that are only half truths must be recognized for what they are.

Fundamental reorganization of the structure of most local governments in this country is an essential preliminary to efficient and effective administration. The manager plan—city or county—is the simplest method of bringing this about.

HEADLINES

Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas has taken a stand for the short ballot, thus joining the list of distinguished advocates headed by Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Charles Evans Hughes, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Governors O. Max Gardner and William T. Gardiner, Richard S. Childs, and many others. Governor Landon is recommending submission of a constitutional amendment reducing the number of state elective offices to the approaching special session of the legislature.

* * *

Wholesale merger of state and local governmental offices and units is being advocated by Governor Mike Conner of Mississippi who is considering a special session of the legislature to revise the state constitution. Howls from the political bleachers are drowning out the shriek of hurricanes from the Gulf.

* * *

Talk about abolishing townships—twenty-one townships in Lake of the Woods County, Minnesota, have committed suicide! Unable to pay their way, they have dissolved and their affairs have been taken over by the county commissioners.

* * *

The story of how Atchison, Kansas, under the city manager plan cut its bonded debt 70 per cent and its tax rate 35 per cent in twelve years is told by Ed. W. Howe in the September issue of the *Rotarian.* The satisfactory thing about it is that any city can do likewise if citizens will organize and make the effort.

* * *

Attend a city managers' convention some time—you will probably be agreeably surprised at the dignified professional atmosphere of the sessions. You will go a long way before you find a conference at which community problems and solutions are more intelligently discussed. It's a far cry from Tammany's annual pow-wow.

* * *

The Detroit city council has voted to submit at the October election a proposed charter amendment spreading the payment of delinquent taxes over seven years. Hotels are heavy delinquent tax offenders in Detroit, owing more than $2,000,000. A drive to collect these has been launched by the city.

* * *

Dead men frequently vote at closely contested elections in this country; but to Pittsburgh goes the distinction of being the first city to permit a statue to do so. No, this has no reference to the ancient and discredited yarn about the plumber under the kitchen sink. But "James Anderson of Federal Street" on the registration list was discovered to be a bronze statue in front of the Carnegie Library.

Merit Versus Spoils in Public Employment

Administration of government is a business and only those qualified should be appointed to office

HARRY B. MITCHELL *President, United States Civil Service Commission*

THE Civil Service Commission is the expression through law of the desire of the American people for betterment in the service rendered to them by their employees. It had its birth fifty years ago and its scope has been increasing ever since. It is the crucible through which proposed employees of the government must pass before they are accepted as such. Having passed through that crucible, future advancement depends on themselves. True, the system does not always work to perfection. Sometimes errors are made and the most competent person is not selected for this, that, or the other job. Sometimes because of human frailties, the most deserving do not advance and the less deserving do. But these are the exceptions.

What the American people want to know is whether, in practical operation, the classified civil service is bringing to them better results than the system which prevailed before its creation—commonly referred to as the spoils system. If better results are not being thus attained, then examination and classification should be discontinued. If better results are being thus attained, then the system should be extended until all except policy-forming positions are included within the classified service.

BEFORE AND AFTER

Let us look first at the condition which prevailed before the enactment of civil service reform legislation. Every four years, according to George William Curtis, a pioneer in the reform movement, "the whole machinery of the government is pulled to pieces, . . . presenting a most ridiculous, revolting, and disheartening spectacle. The business of the nation and the legislation of Congress are subordinated to the distribution of places among eager partisans." It is a rather drab picture that Mr. Curtis presented. Undoubtedly, in those days, good men were selected to fill many of the places, but the question of their fitness for the job was generally secondary to political service. That criticism applied not only to those who held important positions, but also to those in minor jobs all through the federal service.

No one who is at all familiar with the situation would care to deny that there has been vast improvement since the days George William Curtis described. Practical tests have shown that the government service has vastly improved in efficiency since that time. Then practically all positions in the government were changed when the party in power changed. Today, more than 450,000 positions, or approximately 80 per cent of all those in the federal executive civil service, are filled through open competitive examinations, and governmental employees go on with the work to which they are accustomed, no matter what political changes the voters may bring

about. Can anyone question that the people of the United States get better results from these trained, tested, and experienced employees than they did from those who came into the service with each partisan change without examination or test of any kind, but solely on account of political preference?

The other day some one wrote to the Civil Service Commission pointing out that the country had just passed through four years of stress and trouble comparable to the years of the World War; and that inasmuch as veterans of the World War were given preference in civil service ratings because of their service in that war,—five points for veterans not disabled and ten points for disabled veterans—that soldiers of the New Deal, who had enlisted in the war against depression and fought the good fight for democracy, ought to be treated in a like favorable manner. This writer proposed a system of rating preference in which those who had enlisted early were to be especially favored and later recruits on a descending scale; and local party committees were to submit evidence as to whether preference was due and to what extent. A proposition such as that is laughed at today, but is it not an improvement over the system which prevailed prior to 1883? It at least provides for some test as to competency. Then, service to the party was practically the only test.

HOW PUBLIC COMPARES WITH PRIVATE BUSINESS

The objective in all civil service betterment is a system of employment which will insure the strictest economy in the expenditure of that part of the federal funds represented by the civilian pay-roll, and absolute equality in promotions, reductions, dismissals, and working conditions generally. There is still much to be attained. Methods of selection have reached a high degree of accuracy but beyond that stage there has been less advancement. The present method of rating the efficiency of employees is generally regarded as anything but satisfactory, and may I say that the new Civil Service Commission is going to give a good deal of attention to bettering it.

In these days no large private business enterprise would think of operating without a personnel department. The selection and advancement of employees is regarded as highly important for the success of any industry. Not to be done in a haphazard sort of way but through persons trained for that particular job. The Civil Service Commission is the central personnel department of the United States government. In the heads of several of its divisions it has outstanding authorities on personnel problems; and I have no hesitation in saying that it is an efficient organization. I had inquiry made a short time ago to determine whether this governmental agency was operating as economically as private agencies were operating. It is rather difficult to make exact comparisons because different businesses require different methods and because one very often does more or less than another; still the conclusion reached by those engaged in the inquiry was that, taking all these differences into account, the government personnel service was costing less than the same service for private interests, and in some cases, very much less. I mention this because there is a very widespread opinion that government operations are comparatively costly and inefficient, while the figures seem to show that the reverse is the case in federal personnel administration.

The argument for the merit system in governmental affairs is that the administration of government is a business, and that so far as the duties of public officials are administrative, as distinct from policy-forming and creative duties, that those who are to perform these

duties should be selected solely on account of their training and capacity to perform these duties. Places which have to do with forming the policies of any particular government in power should properly go to those who are in sympathy with that government; but in this connection, it is rather significant to call attention to the practice of the British government, where the governmental set-up is very similar to ours, in making changes in only about eighty places when the party in power changes. In varying degrees, the same thing is true in other of the more advanced nations of the world.

CONTINUAL RESEARCH NECESSARY

In order that the government service may be bettered, it is most necessary that continual study be given to the question of how this is to be done. Therefore, it is a part of the duties of the Civil Service Commission to be ever searching for better ways of examination, better methods of rating employees on their efficiency, better methods of understanding the traits in human nature which make for individual advancement or retardation. As the average of the individual goes up or down, so the average of the service goes up or down. Such a study, from its very nature must be very largely psychological; therefore, we have in the Civil Service Commission a Division of Personnel Research, engaged in an endeavor to find out how better results can be obtained in the government service; how employees may be encouraged to do better work, and how those in supervisory positions may help those under them to do better work. Incidentally, this research work is of value not only to the federal service, but it may be and is being utilized to the advantage of service in state and local governments, and to some extent by private industry.

In addition to its own Division of Personnel Research, there is also working on the same problem, in an advisory capacity, the Council of Personnel Administration, under the chairmanship of the president of the Civil Service Commission, with the chief of its Research Division as director of the Council. This Council consists of the members of the President's cabinet and the heads of some of the independent agencies, or some one designated to represent them —generally the personnel officer of the department or agency. The purposes of the Council as set forth in the executive order creating it, are to develop a more effective and economical system of employment and personnel management in the federal government and to promote the welfare of its employees. Roughly, the purpose is to make the federal service more attractive as a career, and thereby improve it, not only from the viewpoint of employees but from that of the employers—The American people —as well.

MAKING PUBLIC SERVICE ATTRACTIVE

There is need of more training in the United States for public service. In order to have special training that is necessary in the higher positions, there must be reasonably assured permanency. If these positions were assured as much permanency as in Great Britain for example, there would be boys and girls in the United States fitting themselves for governmental service and there would be courses in our schools and colleges of the best class to train them. In July, 1931, at the University of Minnesota, there was held a conference of federal and university officials to consider the subject of university training for government service. Representatives of the Civil Service Commission participated with other officials interested and many of the leading universities of the country were represented. Consideration was given to methods of interesting educational authorities in the sort of courses to be offered, and to further interesting governmental authorities—

and that applies to state and local as well as national—in availing themselves of the better equipped people who would thus be offered. Unsettled conditions have retarded the movement for the time being but it is fully expected that there will be further effort along this line in the near future.

Considerable advance has been made in federal employment by the enactment of such measures as the Employees' Compensation Act, the Retirement Act, and the Classification Law. The last-named has for its purpose a definite classification of duties and appropriate salaries; so that the same pay for the same service shall prevail throughout all the governmental departments; and the director of the budget is now endeavoring to have the classification system extended to those agencies whose employees are not in the competitive system.

For the past two years, the United States Civil Service Commission has recommended in its annual reports legislation to empower the Commission to hear and determine finally appeals of employees who have been reduced in salary, rank or grade, suspended from duty, or dismissed from the service, the decision of the Commission to be binding. At present, an employee who feels that he has not been justly treated has no court of appeal. In the recent special session of Congress, an effort was made to provide a remedy through giving the Commission more power. That particular plan failed, but the matter is going to receive further consideration in the future; and the Civil Service Commission, at the direction of the President, is considering the possibility of setting up conciliation committees in the various departments for the consideration of grievances and alleged grievances, with the right of final appeal to the Commission. The desire is to work out a plan whereby the employees will be assured of all that they are entitled to and still prevent any hampering of the executives in the departments by encouragement of inefficiency.

The ideal in employment, whether public or private, comprises these things: the man or woman best fitted for the particular job in all cases; the utmost in intelligence, knowledge, and diligence upon the part of all employees; just compensation for duties performed; due reward in promotion for competent service; fixity of tenure so long as conduct and work are good and so long as employees are needed; reasonable working hours that allow adequate time for recreation and further education; the best of working conditions, and an equitable pension system for empoyees who become disabled or who outlive their usefulness. That is perfection. In employment, as in other affairs of life, the ideal seldom, if ever, is attained. But perfection is something that constantly can be strived for, and the striving assures improvement.

In conclusion let me say that contact with the work of the Commission increases respect for the merit system. My contact has been comparatively brief but from that contact has come not only a better understanding of the advance that has been made in public service during the past fifty years, but also a realization of the further advance that may be made in the future. In our research work, in our examination work, and in our classification work, we have made progress in the past and there is hope for progress in the future. The goal of an ideal system of civil service employment is still far ahead of us, but we are progressing. Undoubtedly there have been mistakes made in the past and undoubtedly there will be other mistakes made in the future; "still we must labor and bend and toil, making anew the things we spoil," until there is produced in this beloved country of ours a civil service system that will inspire the individual and win the confidence of all the American people.

Political Patronage Threatens Democracy

Most expensive waste in government runs into millions of dollars every year with no benefit to taxpayer

CLYDE L. KING

University of Pennsylvania, and Chief of the Dairy Section, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Washington, D. C.

THE filling of public offices with men selected solely for their party services costs the taxpayer money—real money—a great deal of money. The padding of pay-rolls amounts to about 25 per cent of the average public pay-roll in those cities and states without a good system of merit appointment in their civil service.

The public employee who holds his job because of his services as a political henchman has little time and often little ability to serve the public. The public's work has to be done by some one else, and that means two salaries for one real job. Only occasionally can a public employee serve the political grafters who maintain him in his office, and at the same time work for the taxpayer. Most political machines when unhindered by good civil service laws provide a double set of officeholders—one to serve the public interest, and one to serve the machine. The ratio is usually about three public servants to one political fence-builder. The public servant is in his office regularly and usually works hard—has to because the fence-builders are outside workers. And the taxpayer foots the bill for both sets of officeholders.

This is bad enough. But it is not the worst of the situation. It is the least expensive part of the spoils system.

THE POWER OF PATRONAGE

Political patronage is used to compel the state legislature or city council to support measures costly to the taxpayer and against the public interest. It is used to defend the whole costly system of bad government which weighs so heavily upon the public's back.

Patronage and the desire for patronage lie at the root of most of the evil activities of politics and is the very life of every political machine. It is impossible to estimate the cost in dollars and cents of the use of patronage to control legislative bodies, but it runs yearly into many millions. And the worst of it is that no hope for reform can be seriously entertained until the spoils system has been abolished.

This is bad enough, to be sure. But other practices are equally expensive and offensive, such as putting patronage into welfare and into the expenditures for roads, public buildings, and other public works. The taxpayer has a right to expect that the dollars he pays for relieving human misery will none of them land in the pockets of idle, unnecessary, or grafting employees. Efficiency in public works expenditures means dollar returns for the taxpayer's investment. Patronage is also used to shield graft in public office. Certain employees may be useful because they can be counted on not to tell all they

know, and any department can be well seeded with such if there is no good civil service law to prevent it.

All these abuses of patronage cost the taxpayer heavily. So the budgets pile up. Then the poor taxpayers wonder what it is all about!

FAITH IN DEMOCRACY WANES

With such abuses rampant, is it any wonder that faith in democracy wanes? With confidence in democracy gone, the dictator comes along in times of stress. The dictator may abolish freedom of discussion, freedom of the press, and even freedom of religion. Yet I think any fair-minded person will recognize that certain dictatorships in recent years have been an improvement over a patronage-ridden democracy. The fault lies not so much with democracy as with the abuse of democracy by the patronage hound who happens to get control of public appointments.

Shall public employees serve first the self-seeking politician?

Or shall the public employees serve the needy taxpayer?

Shall a man hold his job for service, or shall be get it and keep it through political self-seeking?

Americans have spent one whole century trying to find the answer to those questions. The only answer given outside of the exposure of political scandals is a growing demand for the merit system of filling public office.

Exposures of political scandals have usually been in the interest of just another equally bad political set. To "turn out the rascals" has usually proved to mean only to turn another set of rascals in. I am aware of the social value of these exposures. They keep the careful politician on his toes. But they do not cure the system.

For experience has taught us that many office seekers who cry most loudly against political grafters have themselves turned out to be only another type of grafter or racketeer. In this outcry to turn the rascals out the professional political reformer has often been the worst hypocrite of all. Therefore, the people as a whole have not yet settled down to complete confidence in government.

THE BEST POLITICS

We are now all pulling together to restore prosperity. In this effort public officials play a new and more important part. Confidence in this effort is all the greater because it is non-partisan and non-political. When this drive for prosperity is over and the steady pull comes without the glamor of the hour of need it will be all the more important that public officeholders be public servants. In other words, the best kind of politics should be to order government as it now is at its best in federal service: to render public service that demands public confidence.

The merit system offers one way out. The federal government and most cities have adopted civil service laws in the last half century. Most states and some cities are still backward.

I have said that the merit system of appointment offers one way out. I do not want to say that civil service reform alone will bring the millennium for democracy. There are certain other prerequisites to that wholesome and responsive government we call democracy. Among these essentials are:

1. A better informed citizen;
2. More folks who will serve the public interest without thought of public office;
3. A finer ethical sense of right and wrong;
4. A righteous faith in equal opportunity;
5. An agricultural and industrial life that keeps living standards high;
6. Freedom to make a decent living;
7. A sound family life built on a sound foundation of decent ethics;

8. An individualism that puts service to others above self. Such are the fundamentals that alone can make democracy democratic!

THE MERIT SYSTEM

The merit system of appointment, however, makes it possible to take the spoils out of public life and give democracy a chance. For without a civil service made up of able, competent, non-political servants of the public, democracy has no chance. The past hundred years have taught us that.

A merit system of appointment with proper rewards for faithful service, moreover, tends to keep men and women in public employ for their whole career rather than the two years or the four years for which the appointing power is elected. Thus men and women in the public service are not turned out of it as soon as they have learned their work. For public work grows more technical year by year. No private industry would think of turning out its engineers and its accountants and its experienced and competent clerks just because a new executive had been chosen. Such a practice is just as wasteful in government.

A good civil service system gives equal pay for equal service throughout all departments. It provides for the same treatment as to hours of work and as to ability to do the job.

The experienced officeholder serves as an anchor to windward in times of change.

A crowd-driven people cannot be a sane people.

For the past quarter of a century our public life has been driven too often by one form or another of crowd psychology. We start out to hate our enemies, then end by a drive against our allies. But four years ago, hysteria drove investors to buy stocks at any price. A crash came, and then many folks would not pay fifty cents for what they themselves had spent a dollar for but a short time before. From a belief in high wages, we sank to slum wages almost overnight. Public service can profit much from those who have experienced more than one public crisis. It is vital that those in public employment know how to ride out a storm, and keep high their faith in the ability of the American people to come out of any crisis sane and smiling, even such a one as we have just been through.

GOVERNMENT GROWING IN IMPORTANCE

It is evident nowadays that government will grow more important, not less important. Foresight has its values. So have speed in public decision and honesty in public effort. Mistakes can be corrected. But faith cannot easily be restored. And faith in government can survive only when the public servant serves the public interest as he sees it and not first the interest of the patronage hound.

There is a distinction between the patronage hound and the politician with a public interest. The larger per cent by far of legislators and of executives in public office desire to recommend only the fit for public service. The greater majority of them recognize that merit makes the best public servant, and that high grade public service is the best politics in the long run. The merit system has been approved by this majority because it keeps the patronage hound in leash. Moreover, the merit system releases the holder of executive office for public service because he does not have to devote all his time to patronage. Hence, in spite of the enticements of patronage, civil service reform has received its majority vote from one legislative body after another.

A permanent civil service, to be sure, may in itself not work always to the public interest. Employees who feel sure of their jobs may not keep them-

(Continued on Page 507)

More Money for Public Works

Expansion rather than reduction of budgets needed in these times; costs can be cut by competent officials

DONALD C. STONE — *Director, Consulting and Research Division, Public Administration Service*

CARL SCHNEIDER — *President, International Association Public Works Officials, New Orleans, Louisiana*

ALFRED E. ROCHE — *Commissioner of Public Works, Troy, New York*

MR. STONE: I certainly am glad that both of you are here this afternoon to discuss public works budgets. I have watched with interest your work, Schneider, in New Orleans, and as president of the International Association of Public Works Officials; and Roche, you have made a fine record in Troy, which is obtaining a great deal of attention these days. That records and cost accounting system you installed in your public works department has been watched by city officials elsewhere, and several cities have installed similar systems so that they could cut their costs as you have done.

MR. SCHNEIDER: Yes, Stone, I have been looking forward for some time to seeing you here, especially as we don't seem to quite agree on the subject of public works budgets.

MR. ROCHE: Just what is it we are to talk about?

MR. STONE: Our subject is "Reducing the Public Works Budget." I have been reading in the newspapers about public works, and find that a pile of money is spent on them by our governments.

MR. ROCHE: About half the total budget of the ordinary city goes for public works. In Troy, we spend nearly two million dollars annually for the construction and operation of public works.

MR. SCHNEIDER: Don't forget county, state, and the federal governments. They also spend a lot of money on public works. And don't forget this three billion three hundred million dollar public works construction program which the federal government is promoting.

MR. STONE: What do you mean by public works, Roche, and why do they take so much money?

FIFTY-SEVEN VARIETIES OF PUBLIC WORKS

MR. ROCHE: By public works I mean the building of streets, sewers, water mains and plants, bridges, schools, hospitals, prisons, irrigation and flood control developments, grade crossing eliminations, canals. . . . .

MR. SCHNEIDER: Don't try to name them all, Roche,—you'll never get through the list.

MR. ROCHE: As I was about to say, Schneider, when you so rudely interrupted me, public works are more than just the building of streets, sewers, and the other things I was mentioning. Once these improvements are built, they must be kept going year after year. We have got to patch the holes

in our streets. Our sewers get clogged up and have to be cleaned. The sewage disposal plant must be kept going or the drinking water of the next town down the river will be full of germs. Garbage has to be collected and disposed of. Water must be pumped day and night to the citizens. It's these services requiring attention day in and day out which eat up the biggest chunk of public works budgets. Much more money can be saved on them than upon construction.

MR. STONE: But isn't a lot of money wasted on improvements, Roche?

MR. ROCHE: No. Improvements on the whole are very well built, and under modern methods, there isn't much chance for waste. There are too many safeguards.

MR. STONE: What kind of safeguards? I often read of graft in city contracts.

MR. ROCHE: Well, of course some cities haven't set up adequate safeguards nor have they put competent officials in office, but in all up-to-date cities, there isn't much opportunity to waste money. Take a proposal to build a bridge, for instance. The city planning board will have carefully provided for this bridge in the official city plan. When the time comes to build it, we prepare preliminary plans which are studied, revised, and approved by our engineers, administrative officials, city council, and often by civic agencies. Publicity in the newspapers causes a lot of public discussion which puts an end to bad improvements. Next, our engineers prepare detailed plans and specifications which state exactly what is to be built, how it is to be built, and the materials to be used.

MR. SCHNEIDER: Don't forget to mention the use of standard specifications. The very fact that "government specifications" are generally looked upon with respect in the construction world shows that these standards are high. Some of the best work of this kind has been done by the American Society of Municipal Engineers.

MR. STONE: That all sounds fine, but I hear every now and then about contracts going to friends of some councilmen.

MR. ROCHE: Maybe, but not in any city I have been connected with. The bidding for the job is open, and the contract is awarded to the lowest responsible bidder. There is keen competition in bidding, so that low cost and high-grade results are assured. But we are not satisfied with that. We require the contractor to put up a bond.

MR. STONE: What for?

MR. ROCHE: To see that the city is protected if he doesn't live up to his contract. Then as soon as the work starts we place inspectors on the job who constantly check materials and workmanship.

MR. STONE: I can't see how that stops overpayment of contractors.

MR. ROCHE: We keep detailed accounts and audit all expenditures under the contract which provides the taxpayer with a more effective check than you have as a stockholder in some company.

MR. STONE: Well, isn't a pile of money stolen by politicians? Everyone knows of the inefficiency of government and the crooks that are in office. Do you recall the old saying "The politicians loaf, but the public works"?

MR. ROCHE: That isn't so. Just because an occasional scandal occurs in government operations, we are led to believe that all public money is spent dishonestly. I don't believe there is nearly as much waste, favoritism, and corruption in government as there is in our private businesses. Citizens receive more for their tax dollars than for the dollars spent for other purchases.

MR. STONE: How do you figure that? The papers are always full of political scandals.

MR. ROCHE: They mislead us. Government is conducted in the open; all operations are a matter of public record; opposing political parties, newspaper men, and representatives of civic organizations are always trying to get something on officials. And I believe that most crooked deals are found out. Private business, on the other hand, is a closed book. No enemy politician or civic worker may go into a company and demand to pry into its affairs. No news reporter searches daily into all activities, anxious to dig up a scandal. The public doesn't know of the long hours many of their officials put in after closing time. Scandal is news, Stone; hard conscientious work is not a subject for headlines.

PUBLIC MONEY NOT WASTED

MR. STONE: Perhaps you are right, Roche. We shouldn't generalize from a few bad examples. But isn't a lot of money wasted on poorly designed improvements? I have seen miles of pavements, sewers, street lights, sidewalks, and other improvements stretching far into the hay fields surrounding many cities, and often not a house on the street. That looks like pure waste to me.

MR. SCHNEIDER: That has happened, Stone, and many of us have been trying to stop such evils. The trouble is that under some state laws a real estate promoter can open up a subdivision and borrow the money from the city to pay for these useless so-called improvements. If the lots don't sell, he doesn't pay the city back. This leaves the city holding the bag.

MR. STONE: How can you stop that sort of thing?

MR. SCHNEIDER: That's easy. All we have got to do is to prohibit subdivisions unless the real estate man is willing to risk his own money, not the taxpayers', by putting in the essential improvements.

MR. ROCHE: Let me ask you a question, Stone. If some one offered the city of Chicago the original cost of its boulevards in cash, would you recommend that the city sell them? Would you be willing for the city to sell its bridges, waterworks, sewage disposal plants, police and fire stations, parks, streets, and sewers at original cost, and use the money for some other purpose, say, for example, to pay off some of its debts?

MR. STONE: Of course not. We couldn't live without these improvements. Business would stop, and property wouldn't be worth anything. But think of the taxes we have got to pay for all of these things. Government is spending in this country between one fifth and one quarter of the national income according to latest estimates. The taxpayer is being ground down under a burden that he just can't carry. I agree that these services are desirable, but where are we going to get the money?

MR. ROCHE: I am a taxpayer myself, Stone, and I sympathize with your point of view. I don't like to pay taxes any more than you do. But I wonder if this talk about taxes being a burden isn't misleading. I suppose you mean when you speak of taxes as a burden, that you don't like to pay them. Looking at the question from this standpoint, rent is a burden, food is a burden, all of our personal expenses are burdens.

MR. SCHNEIDER: Yes, it would be just as logical to think of the cost of going to the movies as the movie burden, and the expense of running our automobiles as the automobile burden. We don't complain about these items; we are willing to pay them all except taxes.

MR. ROCHE: There seems to be a deliberate boycott against government. We get our morning newspaper on the front porch, turn on the radio at night, or go to a local civic meeting, and we are reminded again and again that gov-

ernmental expenditures must be reduced. We think of the expenditures of our local, state, and federal governments in terms of the burden of paying taxes; we seldom stop howling long enough to find out just what is done with the money. People never stop to think about the services they get from government. They just take it all for granted and kick like the dickens when we follow their demand to cut some of them out.

MR. SCHNEIDER: I like to think, Roche, of the citizen as a stockholder in government. His share consists of that portion of all public works and improvements that have actually been paid for. When the citizen talks about his private business, he talks of his investment—how many stocks and bonds he owns. He wants to know whether dividends or interest are being paid; investment is what he thinks about. I wish the citizen would think more in terms of what he owns in the shape of public improvements and the dividends he gets in services from government, and less about the amount of public expenditures and the size of public debt.

MR. STONE: I don't quite understand what you mean.

CITIZENS OWN PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS

MR. SCHNEIDER: Well, take the city of Chicago, for instance. It has invested about $130,000,000 in its waterworks. It supplies the three and a half million citizens with water at a low cost, too low to provide money for needed filter plants, intakes, and other improvements. Even though the rates are low, they have been sufficient to operate the entire plant, to keep the mains in repair, and in addition, mind you, to pay off nearly all of the debt incurred to build them. Only an $18,000,000 debt still remains to be paid. What are you writing there, Roche?

MR. ROCHE: I have been doing some figuring, and find that the citizens of Chicago own a clear equity of $112,000,000 in their waterworks. This means that every man, woman, and child in Chicago owns a $32 share in the waterworks.

MR. STONE: Well, isn't Chicago an exception?

MR. SCHNEIDER: No. More than three-fourths of the cities of this country own their own waterworks. In twenty-five of the largest cities, more than half of the original debt is now paid off.

MR. ROCHE: We shouldn't forget the value of these plants in giving citizens pure water day in and day out at low rates. I suppose that is what you meant, Schneider, by your reference to services as dividends.

MR. SCHNEIDER: Yes. Did you hear about the recent check-up on water plants in 250 cities? Twenty-five of the plants were found to be privately owned. The rates in these private plants are about a third higher than in the city-operated plants. The city plants are nearly all making good profits which are used for extensions or for reducing taxes.

MR. ROCHE: In Troy, we have had an average annual profit of about $145,000 for the past ten years from our water plant.

MR. STONE: What do cities do with these profits?

MR. SCHNEIDER: They are used for extensions and other improvements, and in some states where permitted they are paid into the general fund of the city. In many small cities, profits on water, electric, and gas plants have been enough to meet all general city expenses. Citizens have been freed entirely from local property taxes.

MR. STONE: It occurs to me there is another valuable aspect to public improvements.

MR. ROCHE: What's that?

MR. STONE: Their effect on land

values. Experts investigating this question find that the more public improvements there are, the greater is the value of real estate. It sure would be great if there were some way we could finance these improvements without being taxed.

MR. SCHNEIDER: You don't seem to think straight on this question, Stone. Not only can we afford these improvements, but when properly financed they will help us out of the depression. That is what the federal three billion dollar program is designed to do.

MR. STONE: I should think we would only get deeper into the mess we are in.

MR. SCHNEIDER: No, it works this way. When a decline in orders forces private business to retrench and employees are thrown out of work, then at that moment government should build public works to offset the increasing unemployment. This will put enough purchasing power in the market to keep the wheels of business turning.

PUBLIC WORKS SPEED RECOVERY

MR. ROCHE: Economists have figured that $1,000 spent on public works construction will put one man to work for one year. According to this, the three billion dollar program should furnish work for three million persons for a whole year or for a million and a half persons for two full years.

MR. STONE: I do not see how you figure, Schneider, that $1,000 spent on construction will employ a man for a full year. Less than half of the cost of construction, as I recall, goes for wages and the wages of one man under present wage scales is more than $1,000. I should think that it would take nearly $3,000 of construction work to give employment to a worker for a year.

MR. SCHNEIDER: Stone, you forget the cumulative employment resulting. In addition to the men employed directly on the job to mix cement, to lay brick, and to operate steam shovels, work is given all down the line in many industries. The plants supplying materials and equipment must hire more men. Trains and trucks hauling materials require added labor. New employment is given to the workers in plants manufacturing fixtures and appliances.

MR. ROCHE: And don't forget that these newly employed workers will be able to buy commodities and services which they could not afford while unemployed.

MR. SCHNEIDER: Yes, the net effect of all of the new employment and purchasing power is to end the downward slump of business and start the country back to a better balance between production and consumption. What are you frowning about, Stone?

MR. STONE: I still come back to the question, how can we pay for all of this? Tax delinquencies are mounting in some instances to over half of all property taxed. I grant that public works are desirable and that they will put men back to work, but aren't we getting ourselves in so deep financially that we won't ever get out?

MR. SCHNEIDER: No, Stone, I can't agree with you. In the first place, these crushing tax burdens you speak about are largely the result of an unbalanced tax system. The injustices and conflicts in our tax system must be ironed out. We haven't taxed enough in the past, taking the country as a whole. We have saved too much.

MR. STONE: *Saved too much?* Why, most people didn't save enough to tide them over this depression.

MR. SCHNEIDER: You miss my point. I am talking about savings for the country as a whole which were invested in manufacturing plants and businesses of all kinds until we expanded production beyond the point of need for the products, or people couldn't purchase them. We have got to bring about a balance

between the money spent in producing commodities and services, the money spent in buying them, and the money saved and invested in plants to produce more of them.

MR. ROCHE: Then you would say, Schneider, that in the period from 1922 to 1929, we saved too much and with the money overbuilt our industries or failed to increase wages sufficiently so that purchasing power could keep abreast of production.

MR. SCHNEIDER: That's the idea, Roche; instead of cutting the income taxes during the late era of so-called prosperity, we should have increased them greatly to stop the excess of savings which was invested in more shoe factories, steel mills, and automobile plants when we already had too many. State and local revenues should have been increased, preferably from sources other than the general property tax. We should have reduced the debts of our federal, state, and local governments, and perhaps set up public works reserves. Thus, we would not have had the overproduction that brought on the depression.

MR. STONE: What if business declines and throws men out of work?

MR. SCHNEIDER: This could be offset easily by public works. Governments, having reduced their debts, would have been in a splendid position to borrow. In times of depression, governments should reduce taxes and borrow; in good times they should reduce their debt by raising taxes.

PUBLIC WORKS A SAFETY VALVE

MR. STONE: That sounds very complicated, Schneider.

MR. SCHNEIDER: It *is* complicated, but think of public works as a safety valve or a flywheel in bringing a balance between production, consumption, and savings. And the silver lining to this plan is that those public works are badly needed and they add to the wealth as well as to the enjoyment of all citizens. We have hardly made a beginning in constructing needed public improvements.

MR. ROCHE: Such a program as you outline, Schneider, certainly requires long-range planning and able public administrators. In Troy I have to be continually watchful to see that my forces are properly organized, that work is carefully planned, and that services are given as economically as possible. New ways of doing things are invented almost every day and it's a hard job keeping up. What can be done, Stone, to improve public works administration in this country?

MR. STONE: Well, Commissioner, you are better qualified to answer the question than I. But I'll give you some of my observations of public works departments in this country and Europe. It seems to me that competent management is the only guarantee that public works departments will be administered efficiently. We let the politicians in some of our cities waste a lot of our money by using the public works department for patronage purposes. If we want good government, and a dollar's worth of service for a dollar spent we have got to put trained and experienced men in office.

MR. SCHNEIDER: Stone, then you would say that the employing of good men is the first essential?

APPOINTMENTS SHOULD BE PERMANENT

MR. STONE: Yes, I'd make that my first principle. Wherever I find a qualified public works director in office whose hands are not tied by politicians, I also find that the department is almost always efficiently run. The director should be selected by the chief executive, whether he be the governor, mayor, or city manager, and he should have complete responsibility for appointing and controlling the work of subordinates.

MR. ROCHE: All employees should be appointed on the basis of training, experience, and after proper examinations to test their fitness.

MR. STONE: Absolutely. A man's vote-getting power will certainly not qualify him as an engineer, draftsman, cost accountant, or street foreman. When an employee learns that good work is his only right to his job, and not his friendship with the committeeman of the third ward, we can expect him to give a lot better service. Public works is a mighty complicated business, and a certan way to waste money is to appoint butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers to administer the department.

MR. ROCHE: Then you believe appointments should be permanent?

MR. STONE: Certainly. Otherwise, just about the time the official has mastered his job and is putting in better methods, he is thrown out of office and a new plumber or undertaker comes in to waste city funds. And, furthermore, salaries must be high enough to attract competent men. We don't deserve to have our public works run properly when we refuse to pay a decent salary.

MR. SCHNEIDER: I find that good men won't apply unless the pay attracts them.

MR. STONE: Right. You can't secure a capable administrator or engineer for a plumber's salary.

MR. ROCHE: Most governmental units have a hard time keeping their best men. The men are offered higher salaries in private employment.

MR. STONE: That's just what happens from this chopping off of salaries of public employees with a two-bladed axe. It forces out the good men who are able to get other work and leaves only stupid, lazy, and incompetent employees. That is a sure way *not* to reduce budgets. We quiver at a salary of $4,000 or $5,000 paid to the head of a department spending hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. Would we trust our private business of equal size to a $5,000 man? *I guess not.*

MR. SCHNEIDER: What about planning and the use of more efficient methods? I think we can all make great savings in that way.

MR. STONE: When competent officials are put in office, they start putting in work programs and better cost systems and improved methods. There are a lot of things that can be done to cut costs.

USE MODERN TOOLS OF MANAGEMENT

MR. ROCHE: Stone, that records and cost accounting system your staff installed in my department has led to a saving of about $50,000 a year. We couldn't have reduced our budget without cutting services if we hadn't had the system. We cut out a lot of wastes that we didn't know were occurring.

MR. SCHNEIDER: What for instance?

MR. ROCHE: Well, we found that the cost of running certain trucks was higher than if we purchased new trucks and gave a liberal allowance for depreciation. We didn't know that until we kept a cost record of each truck, showing the cost per mile, cost per hour, and the miles per gallon of gas.

MR. STONE: I find many cities waste a lot of money because their garbage collection and street cleaning routes are not laid out properly. Several cities where we have installed our cost system have reduced costs, by being able to tell what kind of equipment works best on each route, how many helpers are needed on each truck, and what is a standard day's run.

MR. ROCHE: That reminds me, do either of you know what has two wheels and flies?

MR. SCHNEIDER: Let's see, it can't be an airplane.

MR. STONE: What is it?

MR. ROCHE: Why a garbage wagon, of course.

MR. STONE: That must have been in the old days. The new air-tight vehicles prevent flies.

MR. ROCHE: Stone, you mentioned work programs a moment ago. Since we started using programs we have found that we could speed up production. We are able to plan our needs in the way of materials and equipment much better.

MR. STONE: You have done a good job on that in Troy. Many other cities are using work programs. At budget time, the officials calculate just how much service is to be performed during the year, the methods they are going to use, and what the cost will be. Then during the year, daily, weekly, and monthly work and cost reports tell if results are keeping to the program. That gives the officials a close check-up and control over the department.

MR. SCHNEIDER: We need long-range financial plans too.

MR. STONE: Yes, cities are finding it necessary to plan improvements over a period of five or ten years. Streets, sewers, public buildings are all built in order of need.

MR. SCHNEIDER: There are other ways of cutting the public works budget, but I don't suppose we have time to discuss them here. Centralized purchasing, for instance, standard specifications, better budgeting methods, the use of up-to-date equipment should help all cities to cut their budgets.

MR. ROCHE: Some of our cities, counties, and states are so efficiently managed that there is little room for cutting budgets without reducing services. In such places citizens have only one choice. If they insist upon reducing budgets, they must reduce services. Budgets in the majority of cities can be cut by 5, 10, and in some cases as high as 50 per cent, not only without reducing service, but with bettering the service.

MR. ROCHE: What is the best way to bring about these improvements?

MR. STONE: Well, on Thursday of this week, we are all going to Milwaukee to attend the meetings of the International Association of Public Works Officials and the American Society of Municipal Engineers. There we will discuss better ways of doing city work with officials from all over the country. I am sure you will agree with me that these two organizations are professionalizing the public service and are encouraging the adoption of better methods.

MR. SCHNEIDER: I am glad you feel that way, Stone. I wouldn't give so much of my time if I didn't think they were constructive.

MR. ROCHE: This conference of city managers which we have been attending today was certainly helpful to me. I got a lot of new ideas.

MR. STONE: But isn't there something else we can do right now to reduce budgets? We hear a lot about fads and frills in government. Can't we cut out some of them?

MR. SCHNEIDER: These people who talk about fads and frills never tell what they are. Apparently they consist of what government does now which it didn't do twenty or fifty years ago. Progress to these people apparently is a fad and frill. Of course occasionally the pressure of some self-interested group has initiated services which are of little value to the community as a whole. But if not essential, they are usually eliminated by economy programs. Obviously budgets can be reduced by the simple expedient of stopping services and cutting salaries.

MR. ROCHE: That isn't always economy.

MR. SCHNEIDER: No. Some cities for example have abolished garbage collection by public works forces, letting

the citizens get rid of it the best they can. In one city the people were found to be paying more to private collectors under the economy plan than when the city did the work.

MR. ROCHE: I find that pressure to reduce budgets has caused many cities, counties, and states to stop repairing streets, sewers, and other public improvements. They are going to pieces rapidly. The expense of reconstruction, and they *must be reconstructed* unless we are to abandon the communities, will be much greater than the cost of proper maintenance.

MR. STONE: I am beginning to see that I may have been wrong in my demand for reducing public works services. If the government maintains our streets, collects our garbage, and furnishes us with water and other services more cheaply than private firms, I guess we are really money in the pocket. If work is managed efficiently, perhaps we may *save* by spending *more* through our public works departments. As the old saying goes, we cannot afford to be penny-wise and pound-foolish. We cannot save by cutting our public works indiscriminately, but we can save by spending more wisely.

POLITICAL PATRONAGE THREATENS DEMOCRACY

(Continued from Page 498)

selves efficient and alert. For that reason dismissal should be made easy and entrance into the civil service difficult. Moreover, the permanent employees of the government should work in sympathy with the policies of the party in power, so that party responsibility may be preserved. The whole public service should be moved by a common spirit.

But these limitations inherent in civil service are not as significant as the dangers in an uncontrolled spoils system. The limitations of civil service can be controlled by proper legislation. The human nature of the patronage-seeker cannot be changed by law making. The power to abuse patronage must be taken away.

So the merit system, like Little Orphan Annie, has come to our house to stay, and she has proved to be a good housekeeper.

Saving by Planning

Comprehensive city planning is economy while non-planning creates waste, experts agree

FLAVEL SHURTLEFF — *Secretary, American City Planning Institute*
GEORGE McANENY — *Comptroller, City of New York, and President, Regional Plan Association of New York*
ALFRED BETTMAN — *President, National Conference on City Planning*

MR. SHURTLEFF: Forty-eight states and hundreds of cities and counties spent, in 1928, a total of four billion dollars on all kinds of governmental operations, four times as much as they did in 1918. This fearful and rapidly mounting tax burden, and a constantly diminishing ability to pay, have brought governments too close to insolvency and citizens too close to the breaking point.

Most of the broadcasts in this series have considered relieving this tax burden by reducing specific municipal budgets for the various kinds of municipal services, — schools, libraries, public health, public works. We must in this broadcast take an entirely different line. In practically all the states, and in most cities, and counties, no planning budget exists. Even in the spending years before 1930, the entire amount appropriated for planning by all states and local governments did not exceed $700,000. Such a sum never could have had any appreciable effect on the general tax burden of the country, and in the last two years, even this figure has been greatly reduced. Today there is no state, and not more than twenty cities in the country, where cutting out the appropriation for planning would decrease the tax rate a single cent. How is it in New York City, Mr. McAneny?

PLANNING AVOIDS WASTE

MR. MCANENY: Your figures are amazing when compared with the billions spent every year on public works. New York City's yearly bill for several years, including running expenses, capital expenses and interest thereon, has been pretty close to a billion dollars. New public works alone cost an average of about ten millions a year. I don't suppose that the city has invested, in the last ten years, $200,000 in all for planning, yet we all know that we should have some guide to determine the relation of the physical parts of the city to each other, and of all the parts to the whole city. For a city to get along without a plan is as if a great business corporation put a million dollars into a plant and spent $10.00 on a plan of production, or a blueprint. It is an absolute essential that we provide in all kinds of cities, and particularly in the big ones, for expert study of all the conditions surrounding the development of any public project in order that great wastes may be avoided.

MR. SHURTLEFF: New York's experience is not exceptional. There are not more than one hundred cities in the country today which have up-to-date plans for the guidance of the public works program. We must spend money enough to develop local, regional and

state plans, and to administer these plans. Taxpayers will be impatient with any demand for an increase in appropriation unless we can rest our case on something more than theory. The experience in many cities during the past ten years should be our best evidence. Mr. Bettman, won't you give us some of the high spots in Cincinnati and elsewhere?

PLANNING MEANS SAVING

MR. BETTMAN: You said, Mr. Shurtleff, that the taxpayers would be dissatisfied with theorizing. Now, I do not know just what you mean by that word "theory." If you mean "guesswork," then I agree with you. But there is no guesswork when we say that city and regional planning are means of saving; indeed an absolutely necessary means of saving. Planning is simply intelligence—common sense—and whenever any community drops its planning or fails to support its planning that community is acting unintelligently and wastefully. Let me try to make this clear without being too technical.

Five years ago I built a home. It cost about $20,000. Now the first thing I did was to retain an architect to make a plan and I paid that architect a fee. Can anyone doubt that I saved money when I spent money on the architect's fee? Can anyone doubt that if I spend $20,000 on a house without having a plan, I would waste money? Without a plan the different parts of the house would not fit; the halls and the stairs and the rooms would not be well adjusted to each other and the result could not be worth the money spent and to make the house comfortable, convenient and healthful I would sooner or later have to spend more money to cure the defects.

MR. SHURTLEFF: Of course you are right, but even people who have built their own homes rarely compare house building and community building.

MR. BETTMAN: A city or a region is, of course, bigger than a single house and has many more different kinds of parts to be adjusted—streets, playgrounds, markets, business and industrial districts, public buildings and so on. Consequently more imagination is needed to visualize the need for a plan; but consequently, also there is the greater need for a plan; and precisely the same kinds of wastes result from building up a city, county, or region without a city, county, or regional plan, as from building a house without an architectural plan. Things will not fit each other and therefore what is spent on streets and other public improvements will not be worth the money spent on them, and therefore later more money will have to be spent to cure the misfits. I am sure illustrations will occur to everybody. I will give one which I happen to know about in my own home city:—Before the days when we had city planning, the city built a certain viaduct which cost about half a million dollars, the purpose of the viaduct being to cross a wide valley containing a creek and railroad tracks. The viaduct crossed the valley successfully, but at both ends was badly adjusted to the street system of the city as that system came to develop. What was the result? The viaduct was little used. Traffic took other means of crossing the valley and other viaducts had to be built. Is it not plain that some of that half million dollars was wasted?

MR. MCANENY: Your viaduct story, Mr. Bettman, sounds a great deal like our Staten Island piers which were built some years ago by New York City. They were built well and at a reasonable cost, but they were not planned as an essential unit in the general scheme of the New York port. The need for them in that location was not established as a result of a study. Even if they had been needed, no provision was made for approaches to them. They have consequently failed of their pur-

pose, and the investment in them brings in little or no return.

CINCINNATI SAVES MILLIONS

MR. BETTMAN: Mr. McAneny, your illustration shows conclusively the need in any city of a design which will control, for a period of one or two generations, the location of the future streets, viaducts, parks, market places, playgrounds, school sites, residential districts, business districts, and so on, whereby these developments will take place along adjusted, economic, and efficient lines. Similarly, a regional plan is a design to govern the general location and extent of main highways, major drainage systems, the regional recreational system, and so on, whereby harmonious, economical, and efficient development will take place. The administration of planning consists of a method or procedure by which before any expenditure is made on a specific public structure or improvement, the proposed location and extent of the structure or improvement are checked up against the general plan. That city and regional planning mean saving of public money is obvious—is a matter of plain common sense and intelligence.

The city plan of Cincinnati cost $100,000 to make, and the annual cost of its administration is $20,000. There is no doubt that if Cincinnati should cease to pay at least $20,000 a year for its planning administration, the city would, in course of time, inevitably waste millions. The same is, as a matter of plain reasoning and intelligence, true of every city, town, county, region, and state.

MR. MCANENY: It would be interesting if we could have the experience of the cities in the country which, for five years, have administered a plan in accordance with your definition, Mr. Bettman. Would the list be too long?

MR. BETTMAN: Mr. Shurtleff will have to answer that question.

MR. SHURTLEFF: I suppose it would be rather long, Mr. McAneny. The National Conference on City Planning, which has been in close touch with city and regional planning for the last twenty-five years, has a record of about 800 cities and 75 larger governmental units which, at one time or another, have been actively working on a planning program. Many of the cities can be eliminated, either because they have no plan, or no efficient administration of a plan, or because they have been in the planning business for too short a time. My best guess is that at least fifty cities and twenty regions, more or less satisfactorily answer Mr. Bettman's test. I think it would serve our purpose better to sample the experience rather than to attempt to cover it all.

MR. MCANENY: All right, I will testify for New York. It is a little early to estimate the savings due to the master plan of the city of New York since that plan is still in the making. For several years, however, the whole metropolitan area has been influenced in its growth by the plan for the New York Region, which was completed in 1929.

NEW YORK SAVING BY MASTER PLAN

This monumental work was sponsored and entirely financed by the Russell Sage Foundation. Already there have been great savings due to the guidance of this plan.

Take the familiar example of street and highway traffic. The surveys conducted by the Regional Plan Committee indicated that traffic delays cost the people of the Region a million dollars every day in the year.

Since the plan was made public four years ago, vast strides have been made toward the completion of a system of main highways along which traffic flows rapidly toward its destination. It is not possible to measure the savings precisely in dollars and cents, but there

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can be no doubt that much greater streams of traffic are flowing with much less interruption, due to the efficiency of these highways in handling and distributing traffic over wide areas. The Holland Tunnel, the George Washington Bridge, the parkways of Westchester and Long Island, and a considerable number of new express highways, especially in New Jersey, are important elements in this new highway system. The Tri-borough Bridge and the Midtown Tunnel, are soon to be added to it.

Foresight in acquiring the land needed for public purposes is another of the means for realizing economies through planning. The plan shows what land will be needed to round out a satisfactory system of parks for the metropolitan area. In the past four years, 22,000 acres have been acquired, an increase of over 23 per cent. These very desirable park lands would have been developed for other purposes and their cost would have been many times greater and possibly so great as to prevent their acquisition for public purpose.

When the more detailed master plan for the city is in hand, similar savings will be effected through foresight in the selection and purchase of sites for schools, fire houses, police headquarters, and public buildings of all sorts.

MR. BETTMAN: The same is true, Mr. McAneny, for the development of private lands. Before we had planning in my home city, for instance, the owner of a tract of land in the city could lay it out in streets and building lots according to any design he pleased, and could sell lots and have homes built without paving the streets or providing good drainage. That is no longer the case. He now has to submit his design to the planning commission, which checks it up to see that it conforms to the general plan of the city and thus fits into the city's general street plan, recreational plan, school site plan, etc. Then before he can sell his building lots or erect buildings, he has to pave his streets, so that they are streets and not mere rows of mud, and he has to put in his water connections and drainage connections.

In short, he has to make his tract fit for habitation and fitted to the city plan and is requested to pay for the cost of street and utility installation. In that way the development is assured as a sound one and the result has been that only those tracts are developed which, from a standpoint of public economy, ought to be developed. A great saving results to the city; for the city is not compelled to light, drain, and pave at public expense, areas which should be developed at the expense of the developer or should not be developed at all. The result has been that during this period of depression, when in other parts of the country, millions of dollars of assessments have gone uncollected and real estate values in new subdivisions have become demoralized and in fact some have had to be abandoned and forfeited to the state for non-payment of taxes, such conditions did not occur in Cincinnati.

WHAT ST. PAUL LOSES BY LACK OF PLAN

MR. SHURTLEFF: Another effect of no control over the development of private lands is seen in the messy street systems in many cities with their dead ends and jogs. I have this statement from St. Paul: "On a total investment in sewers of $10,683,000 we had an excess cost of $854,600 due to irregularities in jogged streets, an 8 per cent burden, not including interest on this additional capital expended. Our water department has $7,582,000 invested in its distribution system. They estimate an excess cost of $700,000 due to irregular streets, or very nearly a 10 per cent burden. The transfer and trucking companies estimate that transportation

costs are 8 to 12 per cent greater in St. Paul because of narrow, jogged, and circuitous streets.

MR. BETTMAN: We have been talking altogether of the larger cities. Have you any facts from the experience of smaller places, Mr. Shurtleff?

MR. SHURTLEFF: Yes, Mr. Bettman, I believe the experience in smaller cities is equally convincing evidence that planning saves. A special commission, appointed by the legislature of Massachusetts to make a survey of zoning and city planning reported in January of this year as follows:—"City planning has proved it is worth fully as much for the small town as for the large city and hundreds of industrial villages and land subdivisions and housing projects and developments of suburban road systems show the economy and effectiveness gained by the use of the principles of city planning. . . . This commission believes that as a measure of economy there is nothing that the state can do which would cost so little and return so much as to encourage and guide comprehensive city planning."

KENOSHA LEADS THE SMALLER CITIES

For planning in smaller cities, Kenosha, Wisconsin, is exhibit "A." Its plan was made in 1925. Since then its officials have led an understanding citizenship in carrying out the recommendations of the plan. New streets have been built and old ones widened. By dedications alone in the process of land subdivision over eleven miles of streets have been acquired by the city without cost in accordance with the widths recommended in the major street plan.

Parks and playgrounds have been selected not only in accordance with topographical fitness, but in accordance with a scientific scheme of distribution. By dedications alone 27.5 acres have been acquired.

Building lines have been established (through the exercise of the police power) on all major streets, greatly facilitating future street widening.

Fifteen dangerous railroad crossings have been eliminated.

A modern, unified, adequate transit system has been established with schedules practically doubled and at no increase in fare.

A blighted industrial area, adjacent to the central business district, has been restored at a total cost to the city of less than $100,000. At the present tax rate on the increased valuations caused by the improvement, the additional yearly tax revenue will be $45,000.

The financial story which accompanies this series of accomplishments is even more remarkable. The only addition to the city's bonded indebtedness has been for the construction of schools. Other bonded indebtedness has been reduced from $1,100,000 to $450,000, and the tax rate which in 1921 was $3.10, was, in 1932, $2.90. In spite of the reduction in tax rate, there has been no general increase in the assessed valuation of property except in those rural areas which have recently become urban.

MR. MCANENY: That story, Mr. Shurtleff, puts Kenosha in the first class for budgets as well as for planning. As you know, the city's budget is composed of two principal kinds of expenditures: running expenses and investments in capital improvements. Running expenses are more or less constant, from year to year; but there is wide variation in the capital items. In fact, in the past there has been no logical basis for deciding how much should be spent for new construction or what should be done first. These have usually been matters of chance and of local pressure. Frequently, in the larger cities, one department acts independently of the others, leading to such absurd situations as the planning of several different public improvements for a single piece of land.

HOW TO SYSTEMIZE EXPENDITURES

Cities are now finding that they need to systematize these capital expenditures, and to do so at least three steps are necessary:

The first is the preparation of a plan for the physical development of the city, for without it there is no knowing what improvements are really needed.

The second is an analysis of the improvements shown on the plan to determine the order in which they should be carried out.

With such a list of projects in hand, together with their estimated cost, it is a comparatively simple matter to take the third step and prepare a capital budget for a period of years, showing just what improvements it is proposed to undertake each year, and how much they will cost.

Such a procedure for systematizing the expenditures for capital improvements would seem to be but common sense, but it is only just being adopted in our cities, and many have not yet fallen into line.

In New York, a local law passed last March makes it obligatory for the city to adopt a capital budget. It provides that "the several departments, bureaus, offices, boards, or commissions shall file, on or before the first day of December in each year, with the director of the budget, a list of projects deemed desirable to be undertaken for the public good, with tentative estimates of the cost of such projects."

MR. BETTMAN: One of the encouraging products of the depression has been the interest which the federal government is taking in planning. It realizes that planning is economy, that non-planning is waste and that planning needs to be encouraged throughout the country.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGES PLANNING

In the selection of public works for which federal funds are to be advanced, the National Public Works Administration gives preference to those projects which can be demonstrated to fit into official city, county, and regional plans. That is the soundest of policies. In the case of Tennessee Valley, the national government has embarked on one of the most inspiring and thrilling events in American history; namely, the making, under national auspices, of a great regional plan, whereby a great region will come to develop along harmonious, economical, and efficient lines.

The aid the national government proposes to give to slum clearances is another example of the recognition of planning; for the slum represents the destructive economic and social effects of an obsolescent development of the land, the slum clearance involves the replanning of the slum or blighted districts of our cities, whereby they can resume a sound growth, with the beneficial social effect of good housing conditions.

MR. SHURTLEFF: Our national administrators, Mr. Bettman, have apparently believed that planning and national recovery go hand in hand. I wish we could convince the administrators of states and cities as readily.

I have been doing a little figuring while we've been talking, setting down the cost of the city plan and the yearly expense of administering it, and I think we can say, without qualification, that planning is an investment which pays its own way, like municipal gas plants or waterworks.

Specific savings in many city budgets are possible. Obvious wastes and unnecessary frills must go. But there are greater wastes due to shiftless and unplanned governmental operations.

Senator Dwight Morrow was not only a diplomat and statesman, but a very astute financier. In his last public appearance before his death he said, "The real cost in planning a community is the cost of non-planning."

A Philadelphia Magistrate Tells His Story[1]

An intimate glimpse of the official who constitutes the "jugular vein" of the big city political machine

J. T. SALTER

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CORRUPTION, city politics, indignant reformers, futile independents, eloquent literary commentators, like the organization-controlled voters, are always with us. Glib allegations of ballot boxes stuffed like a Watertown goose, ballots weighed instead of counted, the voting of phantoms or the signers of the Declaration of Independence in the year of Hoover and Al Smith, are given as the explanation for zero districts and the perennial politicians in high office. But curiously enough, we hear very little about one great source of the impregnable strength of party organizations in our cities—the power of the magistrates. The strength of these party organizations may be described in two words—*personal service;* and the greater part of this personal service revolves around the magistrates' courts.

Any huge metropolitan machine is always most unshakeable in those wards made up of citizens who are nearly certain to be haled, sometime or other, before the law—which means the magistrate. This magistrate is the bond servant of the political organization, and for us to fail to realize his importance politically is like neglecting to mention the rôle played by patronage in a description of our great parties in the United States. The individual who does the voting in the vast slum wards in our cities is convinced that the here-and-now benefit of a court that is apt to be on his side if he "votes right," is infinitely preferable to the vague, nebulous good which might be derived from some future clean, exemplary municipal government where there is no graft—and no "poor man's friend."

THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND

The important fact to remember about this "poor man's friend," the magistrate, is that although he plays a dual rôle in the affairs of the city, he is not really a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. He is a politician and a judge; but the core of his thinking is politics and not law; he could never have been a judge if he had not first been a politician, and a successful and loyal one. His life is an oblation to the Boss and not to Blackstone. As one magistrate in Philadelphia was told by his division leader (when the magistrate asked in a rage, "Who is running this court—you or I?"), "You are running this court because I gave you five hundred votes to put you there!"

The only quality that all magistrates have in common is the patent fact that they have done faithful work in their own divisions on primary and election days for twenty years or more. (To find the exact number of years that a

[1]The material for this article was obtained in Philadelphia by the author while he was a Fellow of the Social Science Research Council; it will be included in a volume by Mr. Salter to be published by Harper & Bros.

magistrate has campaigned for votes, deduct the number nineteen or twenty from the number of years he has lived. There are differences—some begin earlier than nineteen, and others later, but if one follows this rule he will be right four-fifths of the time.) They are men who have heaved the lead for every inch of the way they have made. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, unremitting toil for votes for the organization is the minimum cost of a magistrate's seat in Philadelphia. The men who are slated have earned their recognition in a thousand battles around the ballot box.

HOW THEY MADE GOOD

If one were to ask a magistrate when he first "took a hand" in politics, 95 per cent of them would, in substance, answer as do these that I quote:

(1) "I growed up with the people. That's how I got into politics. George Vare asked me to go into politics in my division. I was straight in politics. I was popular. People liked me. Clubs and baseball teams in my ward have been named after me. I have been on the ward committee for forty years."

(2) "I used to hang around the ward club on the corner when I was a boy. One night the leader asked me to come inside. He talked to me about helping out on election day. I went to the homes of the people to get them to vote. When I was twenty-one I was elected to the committee—have been on it for thirty years, and a magistrate for nine."

(3) "I just started out by doing the running for the ward committeeman. He was a friend of my father's. I helped around the polls. I liked the excitement of it. I still do. Election day to me is what Christmas is to my kids."

Probably the most effective way for me to explain the value of the magistrates to the party organization will be to describe one of them in detail as an individual and a judge. I know more than a score of them in Philadelphia; they are all politicians of long standing, and they are all colorful and out-and-out humans.

THE PROFESSOR MEETS WITH SUSPICION

One afternoon I was taken by an attorney, a politician himself, to the office of an Irish leader of a ward in the Tenderloin. This magistrate, whom I shall call John Malone, is volatile and explosive. He looks like Tully Marshall. He has a long oval face; the cigars and sunproof station houses have destroyed his color, and his skin is sallow. His nose and mouth are of generous proportions; he has bright, snapping eyes that animate his entire countenance; his hair is thin and gray, parted on the side, and carefully patted down. He is tall and well-built, though time has marked him. He gave me a friendly handshake, but when I was introduced as the professor who was writing the book on ward leaders, he looked a little suspicious. I told him the names of his friends on the city committee with whom I had talked. He exclaimed, "Well, you will never write my life! I do not want it written. I wouldn't give you my story for a million dollars!" I said, "Judge, I am going to write your life whether you want me to or not. The only question for you to decide is whether I am going to get my information from you or from other people."

"What do you want to know?" he asked.

I put my most innocent question—"How long have you lived in Philadelphia?"

He looked relieved, and answered, "All my life."

"How long in the Nth ward?"

"All my life."

"How long in your division?"

"Thirty-two years. I have lived in my present home for only seventeen years. The house I lived in when I was married has been torn down."

At this point he asked us back into his inner office—he was beginning to get interested. Before we had gotten settled in this meeting place, I had asked him how many children he had. He told me the number and that they had been graduated from the Ursuline Academy. I had written this and other data down on my outline. When we were seated I started to write down the fact that one of his daughters had gone to normal school. He abruptly stopped talking as soon as I started to write, and said,

"None of that—what has my family got to do with it?" He walked across the small room to my table, took the written page from my outline, tore it to little bits, threw them into the big brass cuspidor, and remarked, "Now we can talk, but no writing.

HE WON THE GAME

"My family was poor. I quit school when I was twelve to help out. I saw other boys going to school, like X" (leader of a neighboring ward). "I knew his mother had to work. I thought it was bad. I always did all I could for my mother. I am a self-made man through and through. I've earned every scrap of my way since my twelfth year. Sold newspapers and took horses home from a blacksmith first of all. Played with the boys, too. There were no recreation places in those days. A game that we played was 'follow the leader.' One day the stunt was to dive in the river to see who could bring up sand—the water was deep. I won because I took a handful of sand down with me. That's what makes leaders here—courage, and doing it first.

"Here, have a cigar,"—and he deftly removed the labels from five cigars and insisted that I take them all. (On a later day he gave me four *sans* the label. On still another occasion I refused and urged him to have one of mine—a mild one. He smiled and said, "All right—I'll take it for luck.")

"I became interested in talking politics and hearing political discussions before I was fourteen years old. It was not because of my father—both of my parents were born in Ireland. I think it was because I lived in a political atmosphere, and I take to it naturally. You know the Nth ward is famous for its great politicians. It produced three that became city leaders. I helped bring out the vote for the organization before I was twenty-one, and when I became of age I was made an assessor in my division, and the next year I got on the ward committee. I have been there ever since. I have always carried my division too—that is because I am close to the people. They are for me because of what I do for them. Of course, I did not become a magistrate all at once. I had some little jobs in between, but finally I was recognized and made a magistrate."

John Malone talked politics with animation; and there were two main ideas that he wanted to put over. One was not to be "high-hat." He emphasized the shortcomings of the men that have had the golden advantage of a university training and yet have failed to live up to it. And he expounded his general philosophy of life. "Some of my friends studied law and decided that they would not talk to me. One, a lawyer named Barkley, ran for a place on the school board. He came around to get my support. I said, 'You wouldn't talk to me yesterday. Why bother about it now?' He got 9 votes in my division, and the other man got 390. He was like some people I know. They call to God to relieve their pain and have never mentioned Him before. There was one fellow that had gone to

the university for four years, and at the end of that time, I, with X's influence, got him a place on the public pay-roll. He had no sooner been appointed than he said, 'Some day I will go to Congress.' This made everyone mad to think that this young fellow would already think that he was better than some one else. It was his great mistake. We took the cork out of him, and now he is way down here." (John held his hand about twenty inches above the floor.)

"I went to a bank to find out my balance. I said, *can* and the smart clerk behind the window smiled and said, 'Pardon me, you should have said *may*.' I went to another bank after that. I have told my children never to be 'high-hat.' I made one daughter take a secretarial course at Blank's Business College. If I had a son I'd have him be either a doctor, a civil engineer, or an arch-i-tect."

CAN YOU READ?

He picked up a newspaper from his desk and read a sentence, following the words with his finger. "If anyone can't read that he is dumb, ain't he, professor? Reading and spelling—that's enough. Don't ever say you are wiser than the other fellow. Use small words; never use a long word. I have an awfully good head—shouldn't say it. God might take it away from me. Think quicker than educated men. The brain is the most wonderful thing in the world. . . . No one is like me. You will find me a strange fellow. I hate prompters. No one has ever told me what to say. . . . To hell with advice—why should I follow it? Pardon me, professor, excuse the language, but I'm telling you just what they say." (However, Malone is ward leader through the grace of another man who selected him for this position while he, the real leader of the ward, holds a higher place in City Hall. That he must take this leader's advice, goes without saying.) "I never ask my wife anything. I decide all questions. I go home and my daughter says, 'Hello, Papa, how are you tonight?' I love my wife more than ever. She is younger than I, but it makes me feel sad to see her hair get gray.

"Be thrifty. Save your money. Sit up in the loft. Save some of your money until tomorrow. Not long ago I went to see an Al Jolson show. I stood in line and a lot of people knew me. They said, 'Hello, judge!' When I got to the ticket window I said, 'give me two good tickets.' They were $4.60—the people were watching. I put down a $20 bill. I couldn't turn back then.

"When I was young I used to go to the Academy meetings and hear great men speak. That is the thing to do, professor—hear great men—learn as much as you can. I always tried to learn. I always tried to be with great men. If I would see somebody that was standing still I would give him up. He couldn't help me. In fifty years he will be where he is today. I made friends out of those that would help me. If you lie down with dogs you will get up with fleas. I always tried to be with real people—people that were strong and influential. That is the thing, professor. If you are with some one that is going up, you will go up too. Senator Pepper is a bright man, but he lost out because he didn't know his people." (Again and again the judge seemed to be torn between two ideas—one was to damn the man with an education, particularly if that man was "high-hat," and the other was to lament the fact that he himself had never had the opportunity to go to a university.)

"I like shows, prize fighting, wrestling, basketball, football. And I like to read. Every night I read all the newspapers. I've got a lot of books at home—Dickens and Edgar Wallace. I

read a book about three senators from Rome by Lytton when I was a boy. Rienzi was a man of the people. He was a great man and a great senator. I read this book when I was a boy, and I have read it twenty times since. Professor, you should read it! I read law books too. I showed a lawyer the law on vagrancy not long ago." (At this point, our friend, the brilliant young attorney, spoke up—"The judge has read all of Benn's reports. He is the only magistrate that has.") Malone smiled and said in words what he had indirectly suggested throughout the conversation. "I feel very proud of the record I have made." He then added, "Be open—say what you have to say. Isn't that right, professor?"

I answered that I thought that you had to keep a card up your sleeve. "That's right," he said, "it all depends on who you are talking to.

"They call me Johnny. When I was judge in the traffic court I handled millions of cases. They would ask me to do a favor. 'Yah, I'll do it.' Even now some days I have fifty callers. More than that sometimes." (There were five telephone calls concerning station house matters and one visitor during the two hours that we talked, but it was late afternoon.) "I try to give them a break and warn them about doing it again. I try to show them the errors of their ways. You know, I talk to them."

"But," I asked, "what if these violators of the law are arrested again and again?"

"Then," he replied, "I would send them away." (Hold them for court.) I then reminded him that the Bible says that you should forgive your enemies seventy times seven. He flashed back, "I'll forgive them ninety times nine."

THE POWER OF A MAGISTRATE

"Only yesterday," he continued, "a woman was brought before me on a larceny charge. She has six children, and she had stolen two dresses from a department store down street. I had her held for court. However, I got a letter last night from a very important woman who told me about this mother who had stolen the dresses. I decided that I would not ruin that woman's life. I would not let her go to jail. I talked with the prosecutor, and I am going to discharge her. This is a life that I will not destroy; the woman didn't steal for herself anyway, but for her children, and this is the first time that she stole. We magistrates are the buffers. No case can go to a criminal court until it first goes through a magistrate's court. We pass upon it first. We have great power. We are very important."

Mr. Malone is a devout Romanist; he would no more think of missing Mass than breakfast. Many times during our talk he spoke of his God and his Church with great feeling, deep reverence, and utter assurance. He felt that he was living in accord with the divine plan. He abruptly asked me if I had a family. "Well, for God's sake take care of them! If you don't no one will." Worship God and take care of your own was his idea. Judge, priest, politician—it would take all of these words to describe His Honor.

The more the magistrate talked, the more he seemed interested in talking, and when I finally went, he accompanied me to the door, and opened it just as a man came in. "Hello, kid," he said, greeting the man with a smile. Then he said to me, "Now don't forget to stop in again before you go." Then he suddenly exclaimed, "Don't put me down tough, professor—don't put me down as a tough guy!"

Magistrate Malone at the station house hearings is just as human as though he were at the political club of his ward, talking to his workers. He is behind a high bench on a raised platform. A clerk is beside him. Police-

men in uniform are walking about. The room is barren, save for a bench in the back, and an inadequate number of cuspidors or round brass spitoons. A one-inch rope is stretched across the room and behind it the taxpayers—(the indirect variety) must stand. One of the times I observed Malone in action there were twenty-one of them there—a couple because they had been "summoned," and the rest in lieu of a movie—(hearings are free). The clerk would call out a name, and a guard would bring a prisoner from the cell rooms in the rear. The first five brought before the judge were colored men arrested for drunkenness. They were forlorn-looking men; one had not quite recovered; he was a bit unsteady, so his "hearing was continued" until the next day. He was taken back amid the good-natured laughs of the onlookers. Each of the other four was discharged and warned not to do it again. The decision was rendered in one, two, or three minutes—the sermon sometimes took longer. The prisoner was admonished to leave that rotten liquor alone—"It will get you into trouble. If you are brought here again this month, I'll send you away."

One prisoner was a fairly young man with a simple face. The judge's comments explain everything. "Now, Theodore, what did you want to see me about? You were hanging around my place late at night and early in the morning. You mustn't hang around and ring my bell at five o'clock on Sunday morning! You were drunk? Discharged."

A frail, and decrepit looking man of about fifty was charged with begging on the street. He was cautioned—"I'll let you go this time, but if you are caught panhandling again, I'll give you three months." One time he asked the detective, a division leader that had arrested a man, whether the accused should be given another chance. The detective nodded in assent. Magistrate Malone said, "See, I'm giving you another break because of him. Now be good; if you insult any more people I'll lock you up for thirty days!"

"That's all this morning!" the clerk cried. A slow morning, but a representative one. Hearings for plenary cases are often heard, too, but the sort that I witnessed were minor and everyday occurrences.

NO "TOUGH GUY"!

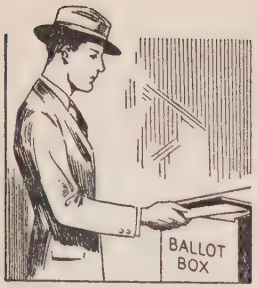
"Don't you put me down tough, professor—don't put me down as a tough guy!" And I do not put him down as "tough." The judge has something of Abraham Lincoln in him—his love for his fellows and his interest in giving a man another chance—and a sermon too. (He often "discharges" the prisoner in the dock but he rarely loses the opportunity to instruct the wrongdoer for the good of his soul.) His exhortations are funny as well as wise. He is a master of mimicry and is generally known by the habitués of the police stations as a clown, philosopher, and a square shooter. An impartial observer might say that he is egotistical, that he has a closed mind, that he is intolerant, and that he lacks social vision. But the whole life of these men, their first loyalty, centers on an organization rather than on society. Malone, like a number of other ward leaders, has come up from unprepossessing and sordid beginnings. From birth he has been associated with poverty, ignorance, and lawlessness. In a community of this sort, to have arrived at manhood as a law-abiding citizen is a triumph in itself; if, in addition, a man has developed, as Malone has, sound traits of character, a capacity for real friendship, and a first-hand philosophy of life, he is likely to become a factor in the politics of his neighborhood, ward, and city. He is ideally trained to understand most of the people that are brought before him

in his court. His help may not make a better man out of the person in distress, but will make more tolerable the life that he must live—the life to which he has been born, and above which the majority of these citizens are mentally and spiritually incapable of rising. Malone speaks their language, understands their problems and temptations, and has won the right to his leadership, such as it is.

To understand the quality of magistrates' justice, one must then consider the origin and sponsors of the "judge." When confronted with a problem, this "judge" turns to a politician, not to a jurist in a higher court. He is as partisan as any other member of the political machine who hopes for success and preferment. If he were ever free to take a detached view of the man he judges, he might more often decide that the crime should be considered as well as the criminal, but that can rarely be, so long as the magistrate is an important part of the political organization. The party in a great city can win elections in a river ward without stuffing ballot boxes, but it might encounter stubborn resistance if the minor judiciary dealt impartially with each offender and endeavored to enforce the law.

Reformers must realize that when they attack the magistrates, they are striking at the jugular vein of the party organizations. Careful and independent observation necessarily convinces one that these courts should be abolished and their work given to one great court, with all of its judges legally trained and of equal standing, which shall handle the whole criminal and civil business of our cities.

This change would incontestably improve the administration of justice, but it would just as surely weaken the party organization. And until the quality of American society as a whole changes, magistrates, or their counterparts under some new name and guise, will doubtless be with us. The poor are in the majority; the party organization needs their vote; and when the ordinary fellow gets into trouble he will give at least one vote to the person that helps him. The magistrate is the buffer between the individual and the state, and like the Virgin in the history of the Roman Church, he may grant a favor that an honest judge or a just God would necessarily withhold.



PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

EDITED BY GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Seattle Launches P. R. Manager Campaign.—Petitions for a well-drafted charter amendment based in principle on the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League, are being circulated by a strong City Manager Charter Amendment Club in Seattle. It is planned to bring the question of adoption to a vote under the home rule law of the state on March 13, 1934, and in case of adoption hold the first proportional representation election of the city council on the 15th of May following. The council so elected would meet to assume office and appoint a city manager on June 4.

The Charter Amendment Club's advisory council of seventy-six, according to the *Seattle Municipal News* of the Seattle Municipal League (which is giving the movement full support), is "a cross-section of Seattle's professional, business and civic leaders and citizens from all walks of life." The president is Robert S. Faris, long a prominent figure in the city's civic activities. The secretary in charge of the new offices in the Dexter Horton Building is Oliver T. Erickson, who served for many years on the Seattle city council and has been a member of the national advisory council of the Proportional Representation League since 1921.

The proposed amendment was drafted by a legal committee, assisted by Mr. Erickson, Professor Joseph P. Harris, and others. It provides that a council of nine chosen by P. R. from the city at large and a comptroller shall be the only elected officials. A novel feature is the provision that the candidate for council receiving most first-choice votes shall be the mayor (president of council). The council appoints a corporation counsel and a city manager, who in turn appoints and controls the directors of the eight administrative departments.

The proportional representation rules are those recommended by the National Municipal and P. R. Leagues. In various minor respects they should prove superior to any so far adopted.

The Charter Amendment Club has issued two pieces of literature, one a collection of quotations from prominent people and publications on P. R. and the manager plan, the other containing a well-arranged demonstration P. R. election.

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An Editorial from Cleveland.—Council has returned to its legislative committee for further consideration a number of proposals for amending the city charter. Of these the most important is Council President Marshall's proposal for a council of eleven members to be elected at large.

It does not appear likely that this amendment will be submitted to the voters next November. The members are too interested in maintaining a large council in order to increase their individual opportunities for re-election.

The *Press* would be pleased to see an amendment submitted this fall providing for a small council, if it also provided for the election of the council by proportional representation. Mr. Marshall's amendment does not, and unless it is changed to provide for proportional representation, should be defeated. Without proportional representation an election of council-at-large would result in absolute misrepresentation.

We should be likely to have councils wholly Republican or wholly Democratic, with no

minority representation at all, just as we have often had legislative delegations from Cuyahoga County solidly Republican with no minority representation whatsoever.

If proportional representation is provided, a council of eleven members would include proper minority representation. A reduction in size is desirable in promoting efficiency. In the banking field we have noted the trend away from large directorates toward smaller boards of directors who really work at their jobs. Troublous times require a municipal board of directors small enough to actually function, and ultimately Cleveland will have one.

It may be urged against the submission of any council-at-large amendment this year that the authors of the present charter are entitled to have at least one council chosen under its provisions serve a term before a change is considered. The weakness of its provisions for electing councilmen, however, is revealed in the farcial botch which council made of its effort to redistrict the city as required by this charter. The chances are that we will never get a fair division of the city into wards of equal voting strength. A gerrymander in the interest of one party or the other seems to be all we can look forward to.

The coming election will not be Cleveland's first experience of electing councilmen by wards. The city tried it long ago and discovered that small-sized constituencies tend to bring small-sized men into office. We are about to learn that lesson all over again.—*Cleveland Press,* August 23, 1933.

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Approaching P. R. Elections.—On November 7, Cincinnati will elect its fifth P. R. council, Hamilton, Ohio, its fourth, and Boulder, Colorado, its eighth.[1] The most significant contest is the one in Cincinnati, where the Republican organization, chastened by seven years of non-partisan "Charter" government, has placed a strong ticket in the field and the Charter Committee is fighting to keep its five councilmen out of nine.

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An Editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post*.— The *Saturday Evening Post* for August 19, 1933, carried a gratifying editorial entitled: "Misrepresentative Government," in which the analysis of the last Congressional elections in the National Municipal Review for last June was cited at some length and contrasted with the most recent P. R. elections in the Irish Free State. The editorial concluded with this paragraph:

> Electoral methods cannot be changed rapidly, and sensible people do not contend that proportional representation will cure all or most of the evils of political life. It is significant, however, that after several years of unearthing corruption in New York City, Judge Samuel Seabury finds himself a strong advocate of this method of voting. One thing is certain: the citizen who does not inform himself on such a subject is lax in his duties. Women's clubs, city clubs, and similar organizations should not only study electoral methods but when pertinent bills are introduced in their state legislatures should be prepared to favor actively those making for improvement.

*

Obituary.—Last month's review of "The Constitutionality of Proportional Representation as Applied to Elections in the State of Missouri," by E. M. Grossman and F. Warner Fischer, was already in print before we learned, with deepest regret, of Mr. Grossman's untimely death in August. For some years Mr. Grossman, a prominent member of the St. Louis bar, had been the leader of a little group of citizens who have been studying and working quietly for P. R. and other fundamental improvements in the government of their city. No one who attended the P. R. League dinner in St. Louis in 1926 is likely to forget his forceful address on P. R. as the cure for primaries.

Dudley S. Humphrey, proprietor of Euclid Beach Park and beloved champion of many good works in the civic life of Cleveland and Ohio, died on September 7 in his eighty-second year. Among the services to good government for which he will be remembered will be his leadership with Dr. Hatton in the successful defense of P. R. against the combined forces of both major-party organizations in the summer of 1925, the only time when P. R. was voted on in Cleveland as a separate issue. Mr. Humphrey not only served as chairman of the Charter Defense Committee in 1925 but was one of the officers of the P. R. League of Greater Cleveland who in 1927 signed an analysis of the benefits of P. R. to the city and recommendations for improvements in the city's charter which would allow these benefits to be realized more fully.[2]

[1] In Boulder, however, only three councilmen out of nine are elected each time.

[2] Printed in the *P. R. Review* for January 1928.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

EDITED BY EDNA TRULL

This Changing World. By Samuel S. Fels. (Illustrated with allegorical cartoons by Hendrik Willem Van Loon.) Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933. 295 pp. $2.50.

Anyone in doubt about the fundamental philosophy of the NRA, the urgent necessity for it, or the direction in which it should progress if it is to avoid menacing pitfalls can do no better than read this book. Written before the NRA was consummated and by no means confined to it in scope, it develops from the experience and keen observation of one of our great industrialists every one of the main principles on which the present emergency action is (or should be) based. For example:

> It would be possible to trace the hangover of many time-worn conceptions, and to note how they paralyze the forward look. Such are the doctrines that low wages make for cheap labor, that anti-unionism is the partner of efficiency, or that profit is to be had at the expense of the other fellow.
>
> Our enlarged capacity to produce is capable of further—almost indefinite—enlargement; but we are oppressed with the wastes, miseries, inhibitions and injustices which issue from our slow adjustment of consumption to the changes wrought by non-human energy and the machine. . . . More work and higher wages, balanced production and a new security for earnings and the providing-power they stand for; expanded consumption and higher standards of living; a real share in the fortunes of America for the rank and file of our people and their participation in the business of bringing such things about—these to my mind should be the practical objectives of our planning. What goes forward as a result in the economic field in the years just ahead of us may be at once as releasing and constructive as what went forward in the political field with the break-up of feudalism.

Significant as is Mr. Fels' contribution to the present economic emergency, such quotations by no means suggest the whole compass of his work. It has been said that in the life of every man there is material for one good book. Mr. Fels has material for several, but he has condensed it into one. Into it he has packed in epigrammatic form the observations of an unfettered mind through a long lifetime on the whole range of human experience. Such varied fields as municipal research, progressive and adult education, prenatal influence, marriage and divorce, fundamentalism and modernism in religion, the Russian revolution, prohibition, the single tax, electric power, advertising, the contrasting developments of the legal and medical professions, prison reform, and the place of psychiatry in modern life are all visited. A few samples will give the flavor of the book better than any exhaustive summary:

> If we are to live together in ways commensurate with the growth of our civilization we must rebuild half our cities. They are as truly survivals as the layered debris which the archeologists dug up along the Nile and the Tigris.
>
> We have drives for economy, local and national, which seek to cut out the slack but may also cripple essential services, such as education, health and recreation. Here, whatever our present set-backs, the need is for larger public investment. . . . Our expenditures for medical care and cultural opportunities must be vastly increased if we are to put everybody in a civilized position. These services will be claimants through taxation for a larger share of the national income and in turn will yield employment, purchasing power and consumers' "goods" of a high if intangible order.

> The city is a comparatively new focal point in the political life of America. It has had to break its way through outgrown arrangements and rural-mindedness. . . Some places have scrapped the misfit forms of municipal government and have been able, on a non-partisan footing, to substitute sensible management by men trained for the work. As the mere promise of service swings to an active, forward-looking practice of it, such gains hold.
>
> Without our time-honored belief in the indefinite continuance of the animal fighting instincts, without the touchy belief in what is called the honor of the nation, without the misleading belief that large armies and navies are instruments to preserve peace, without the hoary belief that war has always been and so always will be, the burden and destructiveness of militarism would cease to worry us in a comparatively short time.
>
> Not alone by its curbed evils, but by its power to capture the imagination of youth, will the industrial order of a modern nation be judged.
>
> We must educate all the people if we are to educate the child.

And imagine the consternation of Mr. Fels' fellow-Pennsylvania manufacturers, about whom in other connections he has kind words to say, in reading a passage like this:

> The outstanding illustration of the extreme to which the dogma of special privileges has been carried is, of course, the tariff. That this has polluted our political life is a truism. In Pennsylvania and other of our manufacturing states, its influence has permeated to the counties, the boroughs, the cities, officials from governors to dog-catchers are in many cases elected on considerations having nothing to do with the functions of the office to which they are elected, or their fitness to perform them. Thus every form of maladministration and corruption is encouraged. But less has been said of the blighting effect of the tariff on industry itself. Nothing is more damaging to initiative and enterprise than the presumption that results are to be had less from resourceful management than from favors at the seats of legislation. A tariff schedule can shunt the brains of an entire trade onto the sidings of lethargy where poor enough is let alone.

The material for this vast range of topics is drawn mostly from the author's own experience. Everything is grist to his mill—witness the fascinating story of the soap industry that runs through the book by way of illustration. A philanthropist of the first rank, he nevertheless believes in utilizing "the materials, the motives, the opportunity for service" in the domain of business adventure itself "which so many business men, turned philanthropists, have sought elsewhere only to let their own industrial settings remain full of injustices and anachronisms."

Best of all, Mr. Fels weaves his many vari-colored threads into one coördinated pattern. In fact the urge behind the book is the need he has felt for a single controlling purpose for all human endeavor. He finds his answer, not in some hidden fount of wisdom, but "in joining with other human beings in what I have come to regard as the practicable, purposeful, never-ending endeavor towards the progress and betterment of the race."

In pursuit of this purpose he pleads for curiosity and courage, remarking with gentle irony that "it is no more of a strain on credibility to envisage human volition equipped with a freer thinking apparatus than it was a short time ago to think of a man flying." He urges men and women to find joy in training their minds "To reach out, rather than to hold back. To prize curiosity no less than play as their precious inheritance from childhood. To brush their imaginations along with their teeth. To experiment with ideas as well as to change the style of their clothes."

In this spirit, he believes, "the world of people can be guided by people for people. The number of inhabitants can be controlled; the most desirable human qualities can be encouraged; the conditions under which to live can be provided; the most favorable parts of the earth to live on can be determined; man can control his emotions; wars can be prevented. . . Mistakes will be made, but they will carry their own antidote, for consciousness of sin and feelings of resentment toward a supernatural power, will be shifted to a sense of responsibility to ourselves—to learn by our mistakes and to redouble our efforts. 'Not Providence, Madame,' said Dr. Abram Jacobi, the pioneer children's specialist, to a bereaved mother. 'Don't blame Providence; it was dirty milk.'"

GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Tammany at Bay. By James E. Finegan. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1933. 281 pp. $2.00.

Few books are published which ride the crest of timeliness as does this "fighter's handbook" by a man long known for his vigorous opposition to the "city haul" methods for which New York's political machine is famous. The author, an anti-Tammany Democrat who organized the "No Deal Judiciary Party" in 1931, presents little new material but pigeonholes existing facts in compartments such as "Tammany's Initial Advantages," "Tammany's Initial Disadvantages," and "How Tammany Can Be Beaten." The book could be placed in the hands of a Fusion campaign speaker (assuming that the fire and water of New York's political opposition to Tammany can be mixed) and he would need nothing further to issue a blistering indictment of the present regime.

Reformer Finegan provides the ammunition —he does not say how an army can be mustered to shoot it. From the practical standpoint of the possibility of defeating Tammany, it is this latter problem that looms mountainous in this year of our Lord 1933. The opportunity is there. If too many hands reach out, it will vanish. But that, of course, is not Mr. Finegan's concern here. The book does its particular job well. No romantic illusions are left of the Society of St. Tammany, of Mayors Hylan, Walker, or O'Brien, —indeed even President McKee of the Title Guarantee & Trust Company, and Alfred Emanuel Smith of the "new Tammany" emerge somewhat the worse for wear. The book lends real encouragement to those who see on all the sidewalks of New York from Wall Street to Coney Island, from the Bowery to the Bronx, and from Riverside Drive to Queens Boulevard a rising revolt against the present costly system of political corruption.

HOWARD P. JONES.

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Current Municipal Problems. By Ernest S. Griffith. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1933. 292 pp. $2.00.

This book is a real contribution to the study of municipal government by one of the leading authorities on the subject. In eleven brilliant essays the author sets forth the technique of methodology in governmental research and applies his formulae to the treatment of current problems. The result is a book that is indispensable to anyone working in this especial field.

The primary value of this collection lies in its exposition of the methods to be applied to the study of the problems of organization and administration. The early chapters dealing with the various methods of approach, with municipal measurements and the appraisal of the charter, will be found especially stimulating. The succeeding chapters upon such problems as the rôle of voluntary agencies, the city manager system, metropolitan government, and central administrative control, illustrate the soundness of the author's method in evaluating the historical and comparative data under consideration. The validity of his resulting conclusions are in delightful contrast to those often reached by some of our more enthusiastic but less experienced writers upon these subjects. Whether or not one may always agree with the views advanced, one cannot fail to be impressed with their reasonableness and to recognize the scholarly processes by which they were reached.

It is remarkable that so much of valuable material and of sound thinking could be condensed in so small a compass, and set forth in such clear and convincing language. As a fine exemplification of municipal statesmanship, the book should appeal to all civic-minded men and women interested in the local problems involved in our social and governmental organization.

C. W. TOOKE.

New York University.

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Social Planning and Adult Education. By John W. Herring. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933. 138 pp. $1.25.

For those who are interested in community organization problems, Mr. Herring's book will have vital interest. Those who understand the phrase social planning to involve a discussion of the community in terms of social and economic reconstruction, and who believe that adult education should form the basis for social change will be somewhat disappointed in the analysis of this adult education project.

In *Social Planning and Adult Education* Mr. Herring recounts the story of the organization and the growth of the Chester County

Health and Welfare Council of West Chester, Pennsylvania, in interesting detail. He describes the needs of the county community as he sees them, and the careful effort of the Council to plan for the health, social service, and cultural interests of the community which it serves. The report attempts to show how a group of citizens studied the problems of the county and organized their forces to meet these problems. On the basis of what Mr. Herring calls a social planning program, an adult education project, with the county as a unit, was set up for the purpose of carrying out this "social plan." The author believes that adult education should form the basis for more effective living and that planning and organizing to meet the community's needs is an important form of education. The increased effectiveness of the county program in the fields of health, recreation, the arts, social service, and education, as a result of the work of the Council is well established through this report, and the successful carrying out of many of these plans is interestingly described.

The title of this book, however, is misleading. The author suggests through the title of the book, *Social Planning and Adult Education* an analysis of the needs of the community more far-reaching than that given. This project in adult education does not adequately provide for community education in terms of the economic and social needs of the people of the community. When adult education programs are planned to form the basis for social reorganization, it will be necessary to formulate programs of community education which include a more thorough analysis of our economic system and the effect of this system on the people within the community. On such a program of adult education social planning in its wider implications will be built.

ELEANOR G. COIT.

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MUNICIPAL REPORTS

Auburn, Maine. (18,571). *Municipal Services, 1932.* By F. W. Ford, Jr., City Manager. 44 pp.

Austin, Texas. (53,120). *Report, City of Austin, 1932.* By Adam R. Johnson, City Manager. 74 pp.

Cincinnati, Ohio. (451,160). *Municipal Activities, 1932.* By C. A. Dykstra, City Manager. 64 pp.

It is seldom that three so well-written reports are available for review at any one time. In promptness, Auburn and Austin beat Cincinnati by a few days. In physical make-up, Auburn must take third place. In charts, maps, and pictures, and their distribution throughout the report, the Cincinnati report is easily the winner. The Cincinnati report also has the advantage in the letter of transmittal and the presentation of outstanding accomplishments and recommendations. In all other respects the three reports are of an equally high order.

From the Auburn report (page nine) under the very intriguing caption of "At a Glance" the busy taxpayer may read with pride: no increase in tax rate; a net reduction in debt of 11 per cent; 93.4 per cent of the 1932 tax commitment collected; all essential services maintained; only one fatal traffic accident; and total expenses of 1932 only $3,000 more than in 1923.

Under the caption "Outstanding Accomplishments," in the Austin report the citizen of that municipality learns that: the water and light plants made a net profit of $277,000 after deducting $267,000 for depreciation; met all bond obligations promptly; built and equipped a new library; and closed the year with a cash balance in every department.

The citizen of Cincinnati may turn hurriedly to page 10 and under "Headlines of 1932" learn to his satisfaction that: the year closed with a cash balance of more than one and one-half million dollars; the infant mortality rate declined from 71 the previous year to 54.7; major crimes decreased 18.6 per cent under 1931; and the 1932 tax rate was the lowest for any city of 300,000 population or over.

No citizen could spend a half hour more profitably than to glance through a report such as one of these. A perusal of any one of them certainly will "not harm the heart" and it should go a long way toward building citizen pride.

CLARENCE E. RIDLEY.
The University of Chicago.

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GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY ROBERT M. PAIGE *Secretary-Treasurer, G. R. A.*

Providence Governmental Research Bureau.—Although the generalization can fairly be made that up to the present time the city of Providence has weathered the depression without any very apparent difficulties, there are several circumstances which compel the opinion that serious trouble lies just ahead. The Bureau has prepared a memorandum which analyzes the financial status of the city and the problems which must be met. As immediate steps to remedy the situation the Bureau is recommending (1) that a budgetary procedure be established that will limit expenditures to income; (2) that all borrowing proposals be rejected except those that will actually save money for the taxpayers (several such possibilities apparently exist); and (3) that budgets be reduced by eliminating incompetent and unnecessary personnel, by consolidating departments, and by eliminating some and reducing other non-essential services.

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Citizens Advisory Finance Committee of Newark.—Immediately after the newly elected city commission organized last May, the director of revenue and finance invited the Citizens Advisory Finance Committee to undertake a general study of the bureaus under his direction. This study has now been completed and a report recommending a reorganization and consolidation of the existing divisions and the establishment of a budget bureau and a purchasing division in the department of finance is now in the hands of the finance director who has announced that the proposed changes will be made as rapidly as possible. In addition to the major organizational changes, the procedures in the auditing and accounting divisions are to be thoroughly revamped and additional mechanical equipment installed. The Finance Committee will assist in the installation of the recommended practices. In this survey the Committee's staff (which consists of Howard G. Fishack and Loren B. Miller) was assisted by the Consulting and Research Division of Public Administration Service.

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Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research.—Part II of the Bureau's report on refuse collection and disposal has just been issued. This deals with ash collection and disposal. The present system of collection has been carefully considered and the Bureau's recommendations for improving the administration of this function call for no drastic changes. The replacement of manual labor at the dumps by the use of caterpillar tractors and bulldozers, the extension of truck operations to include present wagon routes, the installation of a system whereby one collection gang can be used to serve two trucks, and the replacement of obsolete ash trucks are some of the Bureau's recommendations for more economical operation. The exclusion of rubbish and garbage from the dumps is also urged. This would eliminate the present nuisances which the city maintains and would also have the effect of reducing cost by making it possible to secure suitable dumps within moderate hauling distances.

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Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research.—The Committee on Coördination and Coöperation in Hamilton County has asked the Bureau to make a series of studies covering many of the phases of regional government in the so-called Greater Cincinnati area. As a

foundation for the work to follow, the Bureau has made and recently published a report of its study defining the boundaries of the metropolitan area. Population, property valuation, transportation, and communication are some of the factors used by the Bureau in finally determining the exact boundaries of the region for the purposes of its future studies. There are eighty-six local governments in this area.

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Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency.—A reclassification study of positions in the municipal service is being conducted by the Commission at the request of the city council. Questionnaire forms have been prepared and are now in the hands of all municipal employees. The work of reclassifying positions on the basis of duties is proceeding rapidly. The original classification under which the city is now operating was made in 1921. Since that time there has been no general revision, although numerous piecemeal changes have been made. G. Burman Curry, the secretary of the Commission, is directing the reclassification study.

Lucas County, in which Toledo is situated, is also planning to complete a personnel reclassification before the 1934 appropriations are made. H. T. Shenefield, formerly the secretary of the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency is now director of finance and purchasing for Lucas County (county seat—Toledo).

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St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research.—St. Louis was one of the first cities of the country to levy a gasoline tax to help finance its streets. This tax has been in effect since August 4, 1919. The state of Missouri did not begin to collect a gasoline tax until 1925. The Bureau has recently prepared a report on the administration of the city gas tax. It was not until 1931 that any adequate enforcement by the city was attempted and data is presented in the report which shows very clearly that the enforcement campaign begun in that year by the comptroller's office was highly successful. The Bureau points out, however, that whereas the state of Missouri had a delinquency of only .6 of 1 per cent in its gasoline tax collections in 1933, the city of St. Louis had a delinquency of 11.2 per cent of collections. To remedy this situation and to otherwise improve the administration of the tax the Bureau has made seven specific recommendations.

Carter Atkins, director of the Bureau, is serving as the chairman of a "Committee for Constructive Economy" appointed by Luther Ely Smith, chairman of the General Council on Civic Needs, a permanent federation of some 135 business and professional groups in St. Louis. A study and analysis of the 1934 budget has been begun.

Mr. Atkins is also one of three members of Work Relief Committee which is planning the fall and winter work-relief program.

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Bureau of Efficiency of the County of Los Angeles.—A survey of automotive transportation in the county has been completed by the Bureau. The adoption of the Bureau's recommendations would, it is estimated, save the county at least $100,000 annually out of a total outlay of about $900,000 for transportation. The chief recommendation is that the control of all county automobiles be centralized in a bureau of transportation. In a report recently issued by the Bureau the details of this plan of centralized control are fully developed and the pertinent supporting data are presented. H. E. Earl of the Bureau staff was in charge of this survey.

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National Industrial Conference Board.—The Board has been retained by the New Orleans Tax Revision Commission to make a survey of the present taxing system of the city and to make recommendations for changes in this system and for effecting economies in the various operating departments. The Tax Revision Commission is composed of five prominent citizens, one of whom is also a member of the board of directors of the Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans. The Commission was appointed by the city council and mayor, and has a fund of $10,000 to expend in completing its work.

Gaylord C. Cummin, president of Municipal Securities Service, Boston, has been retained by the Board to handle certain phases of the survey. Francis J. Mulvihill, formerly chief of the Division of City Planning and Municipal Affairs of Pennsylvania, has also been added to the staff. L. H. Kimmel is in charge of the municipal survey work of the Conference Board.

School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.—Under the joint editorship of the New York State Conference of Mayors and the School of Citizenship, the following studies have either been brought out recently or are to be brought out in the near future: Municipal Office Equipment in the Municipalities of New York State, by C. F. Humphry Saunders; Handling Communicable Diseases in New York State Municipalities, by James B. Hume; Condemnation Procedure and Land Purchase Practices in New York State Municipalities, by Elwyn E. Mariner; Fire Prevention Practices of New York State Municipalities, by DeWayne E. Nolting; Veterans Relief Administration, by Fred E. Levi; Administration of Public Welfare Departments in New York State Cities, by Hugh R. Jackson; Municipal Revenues, New and Revised Sources, by Edward Harding; Job Classification and Salary Standardization for New York Municipalities, by Theodore B. Forbes.

Professors Mary Johnson and Douglas Haring of the School's staff have a report in press on the operations of the work relief in Onondaga County. This report is the result of an intensive survey and critical appraisal of the policies and achievements of a very interesting and non-political work-relief program. Professor Robert Steadman has recently submitted a report upon the Public Welfare Program of Onondaga County. F. G. Crawford and W. E. Mosher are making an investigation of the increasing centralization of supervision and control of local functions through the extension of the authority of the state of New York. Professor Floyd Allport has just published a work entitled *Institutional Behavior,* in which he devotes six chapters to political institutions.

WILLIAM E. MOSHER.

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Chicago Civic Federation and Bureau of Efficiency.—A bill paving the way toward park consolidation in Chicago was one of the most constructive pieces of legislation enacted at the recent session of the legislature. The Bureau aided in the calculation of adjusted tax rates essential to this bill, helped in the preparation of needed amendments, and prepared the necessary companion bills. At a referendum to be held next spring there will be a vote on a measure which, if approved, will give Chicago one single, locally administered, park district in place of the South Park District with commissioners chosen by the circuit court judges of Cook County, the West and Lincoln Park Districts with commissioners selected by the governor, and seventeen small park districts, each with locally elected commissioners. It is a step at once in the direction of centralized administration and of home rule.

Another major piece of legislation which the Federation and Bureau assisted in drafting and passing will permit the Chicago Board of Education to increase its working cash fund by the sale of a $40,000,000 bond issue.

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Local Taxpayers Association of Massachusetts.—In September, 1932, the New England Council called a conference of representatives of Massachusetts taxpayers associations for the purpose of working out a plan of coördinated action. It was decided that a very informal arrangement would be preferable to a formal new organization, and an Executive Committee of eight representatives was created.

When the Committee was formed there were eighty taxpayers associations in Massachusetts. Today there are one hundred and forty. They range from well-financed organizations in large cities, to small organizations of volunteer workers in towns.

The Executive Committee found that its work was divided into two parts. First, assistance to associations in their local work. This consisted principally of acting as a clearing house of information and advice on problems which confronted these associations. The Executive Committee handled hundreds of calls for assistance and each month finds an increasing call for its services. Second, action upon legislative matters of interest to the local groups. The major part of the Committee's work was in this category. When the state budget was under consideration, representatives of one hundred taxpayers associations attended a hearing and demanded further economies than were then contemplated. A statewide campaign was conducted subsequently, with the result that a substantial cut was made, and several minor activities of the state government were abolished.

The work of the Massachusetts Executive Committee has been carried on with no gen-

eral assessment upon local associations and no paid employees. The New England Council and a few of the larger associations have assisted in some of the routine expenses. The Committee and the associations which it serves are laying plans for enlarged activity during 1934. The members of the Executive Committee are: C. D. A. Grasse of Lowell (chairman), E. J. Brehaut, manager of the Civic Bureau of the Boston Chamber of Commerce (secretary), John J. Prindiville of Framingham, Charles P. Tucker of Hudson, Hart Cummin, director of the New Bedford Taxpayers Association, Addison B. Green of Holyoke, Samuel M. Green of Springfield, and John H. Mahoney, director of the Worcester Taxpayers Association.

E. J. Brehaut

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Municipal Research Bureau of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.— In common with many other municipal research agencies, the Cleveland Bureau is devoting its attention to the major problem of keeping governmental expenditures within income and endeavoring to prevent the accumulation of deficits. The local situation is complicated by the problem of public funds frozen in closed banks. The Bureau is making a factual study of this situation which will be particularly useful in view of pending judicial action.

The work of the Municipal Research Bureau is under the general direction of the committee on public finance and taxation of the Chamber of Commerce. Subcommittees on county, city, and school affairs have been formed. In addition to the director, Parker Hill, three research men devote their full time to the work of the Bureau, one being assigned to each of these subcommittees. As a matter of routine the Bureau checks income and expenditures and keeps the subcommittees well advised as to the day-to-day financial operations of all local governmental units.

Although the Chamber of Commerce has taken an active part in municipal affairs for many years, the intensive program of the Municipal Research Bureau is a development of the past year. There is every reason to believe that the Bureau has been and will continue to be a most effective agency through which citizens can participate constructively in the difficult financial problems now confronting local governments.

Stark County Tax League (Canton, Ohio).—The recently issued report of the League for the year ending July 1, points out that for the first time the county budget has been balanced by setting up an adequate reserve for delinquent taxes. The League has worked closely with the authorities in putting the administration of poor relief in Stark County on a sound and efficient basis. Changes in the organization and methods of investigation have been made and more efficient accounting systems installed in the welfare offices throughout the county. The League has coöperated with the local purchasing agents association in an effort to install up-to-date purchasing methods in the county government. In the city of Canton, during the past year, all purchasing has been centralized and consolidated and is now administered by the secretary to the mayor. Notable savings have been achieved by this arrangement. Surveys of the offices of county auditor, treasurer, recorder, and clerk of courts were made during the past year and it was determined that approximately $20,000 a year could be saved by the adoption of mechanical bookkeeping and accounting methods and photostatic recording for these offices.

In addition to Canton, Stark County includes the cities of Alliance and Massillon. Walter J. Mackey is the executive officer of the League, with title of actuary.

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Pennsylvania Economic Council.—The Council has during the past year completed surveys of the Harrisburg school district, the city of Harrisburg, Dauphin County (the county seat of Harrisburg), the school district of Lower Merion, the Abington school district, and a preliminary survey of the public school systems of Erie and of Philadelphia.

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Citizens League on Government and Taxation of Santa Clara County (San Jose, California).—This recently organized association reports that after a heavy campaign against entrenched political interests a signal victory has been won. The League has started a charter movement in the county along with its campaign to reduce the cost of government, and has successfully elected an entire board of fifteen freeholders against the organized politicians and officeholders. Guy R. Kinsley is the manager of the League.

NOTES AND EVENTS

"The Crisis in Municipal Finance," Subject of New Radio Series.—With more than a thousand municipalities in default and others in serious danger, the subject of the sixth "You and Your Government" series is of immediate and vital interest. "The Crisis in Municipal Finance" is the title of this series of nineteen programs, to be heard over a nation-wide National Broadcasting Company network, WJZ, New York and affiliated stations from coast to coast, every Tuesday evening, at 7:15 p. m. eastern standard time, beginning October third.

These programs are sponsored by the Committee on Civic Education by Radio of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education and the American Political Science Association. The Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy of the National Municipal League is coöperating in their presentation. The program for the new series which will include round table discussions, a dramatic sketch, interviews, and addresses is as follows:

October 3—"The Financial Plight of the Cities." *Hon. Murray Seasongood,* president, National Municipal League; former mayor of Cincinnati, Ohio; *C. A. Dykstra,* City Manager, Cincinnati; president, International City Managers' Association.

October 10—"Secrets of Municipal Credit." *Morris Tremaine,* comptroller, New York State; *Frank H. Morse,* Lehman Brothers, New York; *Howard P. Jones, secretary,* National Municipal League.

October 17—"National Credit for Local Needs." *Henry T. Hunt,* general counsel, Federal Emergency Public Works Administration; *Prof. Charles E. Merriam,* University of Chicago.

October 24—"Default and Its Consequences." *Newton C. Farr,* chairman, Chicago Recovery Administration; *Henry P. Chandler,* attorney; president, Union League Club, Chicago; *Dr. A. M. Hillhouse,* Northwestern University.

October 31—"Default and Its Remedies." *Mayor James M. Curley,* Boston; *David M. Wood,* attorney, Thompson, Wood and Hoffman.

November 7—"The Citizen and His City." *Richard S. Childs,* president, City Club of New York, and chairman of the Council, National Municipal League.

November 14—"Borrowing for Current Needs." *E. Fleetwood Dunstan,* chairman, Municipal Securities Committee, Investment Bankers Association of America; *Prof. Thomas H. Reed,* chairman, Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy.

November 21—"The State and Local Credit." *Governor Herbert H. Lehman,* New York; *Mayor Howard W. Jackson,* Baltimore.

November 28—"Pruning the City Budget." *Peter Grimm,* chairman, Citizens' Budget Commission of New York; *Harlow S. Person,* managing director, Taylor Society; *Harold S. Buttenheim,* editor, *The American City Magazine.*

December 5—"Why Taxpayers Strike." *Judge Carroll Sprigg,* chairman, Citizens' Emergency Council, Dayton, Ohio; *Prof. Leonard D. White,* University of Chicago; *Carl H. Chatters,* director, Municipal Finance Officers' Association.

December 12—"A Voice in the Dark." A Dramatic Sketch.

December 19—"Tax Paying Made Easier." *Philip A. Benson,* president, Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn; *Sanders Shanks, Jr.,* editor, The Bond Buyer; *Prof. Carl Shoup,* Columbia University.

December 26—"Individual Rights and the NRA." *Dean Isidor Loeb,* Washington University, St. Louis; *Prof. Raymond Moley,* Columbia University; *Dean Walter J. Shepard,* Ohio State University.

January 2—"New Sources of Local Revenue." *Mayor Walter G. C. Otto,* New Rochelle, New York; president, New York Conference of Mayors and other Municipal Officials; *Mayor Meyer C. Ellenstein,* Newark, New Jersey; *Paul V. Betters,* director, American Municipal Association.

January 9—"Modernizing the Mechanism of Local Finance." *Mayor Joseph F. Loehr,* Yonkers, New York; *William P. Capes,* executive secretary, New York Conference of Mayors and other Municipal Officials; *Prof. Thomas H. Reed,* University of Michigan.

January 16—"Regenerating Local Civil Service." *Charles P. Messick,* chief examiner and secretary, Civil Service Commission, New Jersey; *H. Eliot Kaplan,* secretary, National Civil Service Reform League; *Prof. William E. Mosher,* director, School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

January 23—"Renovating Local Administration." *Lavinia Engle,* chairman, Civil Service Reform Committee, Maryland House of Delegates; *Prof. A. R. Hatton,* Northwestern University.

January 30—"The Banks and Better Municipal Credit." *O. C. Lester,* vice president, Bowery Savings Bank, New York; *George V. McLaughlin,* president, Brooklyn Trust Company, Brooklyn, New York; *Luther Gulick,* director, Institute of Public Administration.

February 6—"The Investor and Sound Local Finance." *Dr. L. I. Dublin,* vice president, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; *Willard I. Hamilton,* vice president, Prudential Insurance Company of America; president, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce; *Harold S. Buttenheim,* editor, *The American City Magazine.*

New Tax Plan in California.—On June 27, California voters declared in favor of a modification in their tax system. Since 1910 California has divided the sources of revenues between the state government and local political subdivisions.

The newly adopted tax plan definitely repeals the dual system of taxation by reallocating the operative property of public utilities back to the counties and to other local governmental jurisdictions for purposes of taxation. The actual assessment of the property of the utilities is to be handled centrally by the State Board of Equalization. This particular part of the amendment does not become effective until 1935. Definite budget limitations have been authorized under the new amendment. The state budget may not be increased by more than 5 per cent per biennium, for other than the expenditures for schools, except by a two-thirds vote of the legislature. For the next two years county, municipal, and local district budgets are limited to a 5 per cent annual increase, for other than debt charges, except by a two-thirds vote of the electorate or special authorization by the State Board of Equalization. After 1935 the legislature is given the permissive power to continue the limitation of local budgets.

After 1935, the taxable property in the counties will be increased by the reallocation of the operative property of the public utilities back to the local assessment rolls. It is expected that a state real estate tax will return to the state the amount of the loss of the former public utility revenues. However, the counties having a large amount of public utility property will stand to gain, while those with a small percentage will tend to lose.

Beginning immediately, opportunity is afforded for the tax rate on real estate in each county to be reduced by the requirement that the state pay to the counties the amount of the county school tax. In general, predominately rural counties will gain considerably under this feature of the amendment, while metropolitan counties will benefit less.

Under the amendment, the state may levy an advalorem real estate tax. However, it is definitely stipulated that not more than 25 per cent of the state revenues may be raised by a tax on real estate. To offset this limitation the legislature is given wide power to levy any other tax not prohibited by the constitution. Insurance companies are still to be taxed on a gross premiums basis and banks and corporations will pay an income tax.

The California legislature reconvened July 17, enacting revenue laws to carry this new constitutional amendment into effect. In order to raise approximately $125,000,000 for the next biennium, to meet the amount of the county school tax as authorized under the new amendment, and to balance the budget, both a general retail sales tax and income tax were enacted. The sales tax consists of a 2½ per cent levy on all retail

transactions, with minor exemptions, expected to raise between seventy-five and one hundred million dollars in revenues. Attempts to exempt foodstuffs and local governmental agencies were frustrated in both houses of the legislature. After a strenuous legislative battle an income tax was passed, expected to raise between ten and fourteen million dollars in revenues. The sales tax went into effect on August 1, while the income tax received a pocket veto by the governor.

Already the sales tax is presenting difficulties and arousing spirited opposition. Each retailer was supposed to apply for a permit to the State Board of Equalization, but when the time limit expired less than half of the 180,000 retailers had applied. Apparently the opponents of the sales tax law plan to circulate petitions for its repeal either by use of initiative or referendum.

MELVIN M. MEEKER.

Claremont, California.

*

County Home Rule Amendment in Texas.—At an election held on August 26, the people of Texas by an overwhelming vote endorsed a county home rule amendment proposed for their consideration by the state legislature. The amendment provides that the counties affected may effect such reorganizations and mergers of local units as will be conducive to increased economy and efficiency of operation. It applies to counties of more than 62,000 population, of which, according to the census of 1930, there are thirteen in the state. More than one of these are reported to be interested in changing their systems of government, and at least one has witnessed the launching of an educational campaign in behalf of city-county consolidation and the manager plan.

ROSCOE C. MARTIN.

University of Texas.

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Providence, Rhode Island, Collects Its Taxes.—On a tax levy of $13,206,936.13 for the current fiscal year ending September 30, 1933, the city of Providence had collected on September 7 last $12,907,837.12 or 97.72 per cent. Collections on the same date a year ago amounted to 98.80 per cent of the assessments. Prior to 1932 a collection in excess of 99 per cent was the normal experience.

The city's fiscal year begins on October first and on that day taxes become due and payable. From October first to the twenty-fourth taxes are payable without penalty. During this period about 75 per cent of the levy is collected. After October twenty-fourth taxes become delinquent and interest at the rate of 8 per cent per annum is charged for the number of days taxes remain unpaid.

On the first Thursday in February the city treasurer makes a sworn statement of uncollected taxes, and at this time the city makes a contract with a private firm, under competitive bidding, to search titles on the delinquent properties. Thereafter notice of intention to advertise and sell property for delinquent taxes is given by personal message to all owners of record.

Tax sales are normally held on the first Thursday in June but this year the sale was postponed from time to time until September seventh.

In 1930 the city treasurer made an examination of the record of Providence and discovered that for the past one hundred years the total cumulative amount of unpaid real estate taxes amounted to but $18,000.

A similar procedure is followed on the collection of personal property taxes. On delinquent accounts judgment is obtained, all costs are charged to the delinquent, and a writ of execution is sworn out to confiscate personal property for satisfaction of the claim. This year uniformed policemen, during their regular tour of duty, delivered to delinquents a written notice requesting appearance at the city hall to make payment. The plan has proven extremely satisfactory.

It is difficult to assign any unusual reasons for the exceptional record of Providence. Tax paying habits are apparently a firmly established, New England custom. No respite or compromise is made or suggested for delinquents.

Tax sales bring out but few purchasers, but inability to pay the tax is the reason for this and not the hope, expectation, or knowledge that leniency or a bargain sale stands in the offing.

In a city such as Providence, there is little if any marginal property. Surrounded as it is by several satellite towns and cities, land values are fairly stable and such exploitation as does occur is in these adjacent communities.

The tax rate is low, but assessed valuations

are high so that the per capita costs are well above average.

The explanation for the remarkable record of Providence apparently resolves itself into tax paying habits, and the vigor which an able city treasurer exerts to collect taxes.

ROBERT M. GOODRICH
Providence Governmental Research Bureau.

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Low-Cost Housing Conference in Cleveland.—A National Conference on Low-Cost Housing will take place in Cleveland on October 25, 26, and 27, under auspices of The Cleveland Engineering Society. It will take up the planning, architectural, engineering, and maintenance problems relating to housing units of a cost not over $5,000.

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Western States Taxpayers' Conference.—The eleventh annual conference of the Western States Taxpayers' Association will be held in Los Angeles, at the Biltmore Hotel, on October 24 and 25. The California Taxpayers' Association is host to the Conference, which will have as official delegates representatives of taxpayers associations in the twelve western states.

The chief topics of discussion are budgets and budget-making, educational costs and measurements, new sources of governmental revenue, and minerals, irrigation, and domestic water in the West. Programs may be secured at 775 Subway Terminal Building, 417 South Hill Street, Los Angeles.

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South Dakota Abandons General Tax Levy.—The first quarterly returns of the gross income tax in South Dakota will be made in October and will give the first tangible indication of the amount of revenue the tax will bring in. The general tax levy for state purposes is abandoned entirely, for the state division of taxations claims will reduce the average property owner's tax bill 17.4 per cent. The state administration indicates that 45 per cent of the gross income tax will be apportioned quarterly to the school districts on a school census basis. Gasoline and minor sources will provide additional revenue.

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Oregon Faces Tax Needs.—A special session of the Oregon legislature meets late in October to adopt a tax program and arrange for liquor control. The sales tax was decisively rejected at a referendum in June.

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City Managers Stage Successful Conference.—The twentieth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association held in Chicago on September 18 to 20 was the largest in the history of the Association. A total of 290 were registered during the three-day conference of which number ninety-one were city managers representing cities in twenty-eight different states. In his presidential address, City Manager C. A. Dykstra of Cincinnati discussed the new relationships between cities and the federal government, problems of debt and revenue administration, the need for the reallocation of governmental functions, and the work of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works. He stressed the responsibility of the city manager profession for a non-partisan administration, stating, "Ours is the task of doing the day-to-day city housekeeping in workmanlike fashion and the careful painstaking planning for a better life in our cities."

About fifty city managers made three-minute talks on their most difficult problems during the current year, with most of the discussion centering around problems of unemployment relief, municipal finance, and personnel administration. Charles E. Merriam, head of the political science department of the University of Chicago, was elected the sixth honorary member of the Association and a resolution was passed commending the Federal Relief Administrator in insisting that public agencies shall administer public funds.

Officers elected for the coming year were: Willard F. Day, city manager, Staunton, Virginia, *president;* R. M. Evans, city manager, Dubuque, Iowa; Roy S. Braden, county manager, Arlington County, Virginia, and E. J. Donnelly, city manager, Two Rivers, Wisconsin, *vice-presidents.* In addition to these officers the executive board includes: O. E. Carr, C. M. Osborn, John N. Edy, Charles A. Carran, and C. A. Dykstra. The complete proceedings of the conference will appear in the *City Manager Yearbook* to be published by the Association in 1934.

CLARENCE E. RIDLEY.